
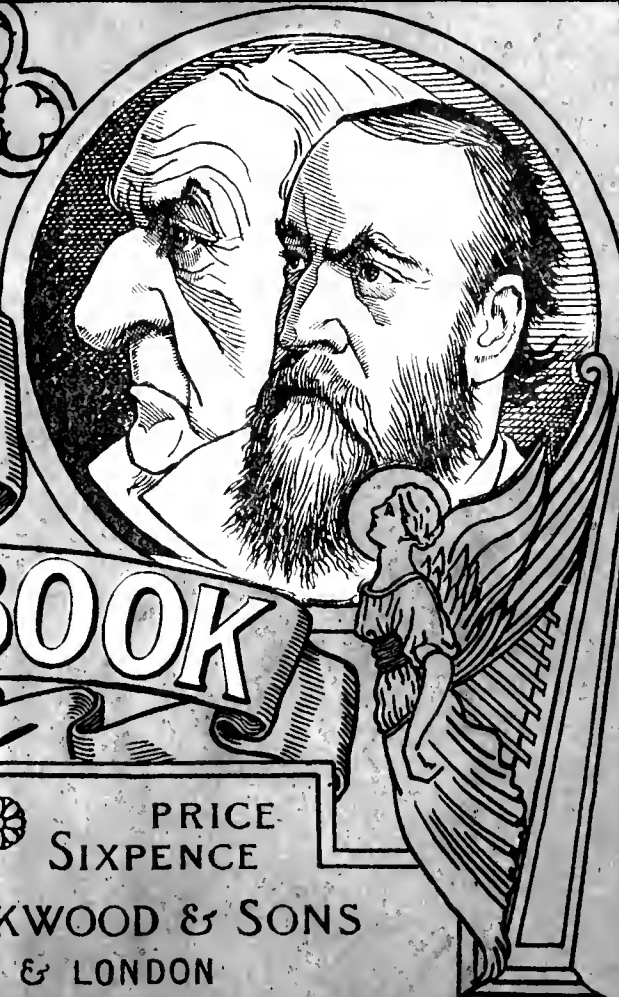




TWENTIETH THOUSAND.



THE IRISH GREEN BOOK

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EDINBURGH & LONDON



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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.,

LATELY PRIME MINISTER

OF THE

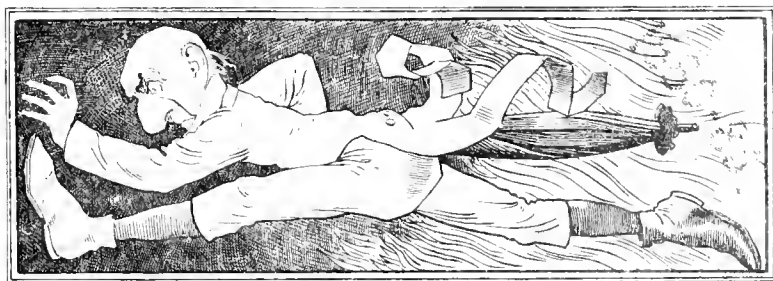
UNITED KINGDOM

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE IRISH GREEN BOOK.

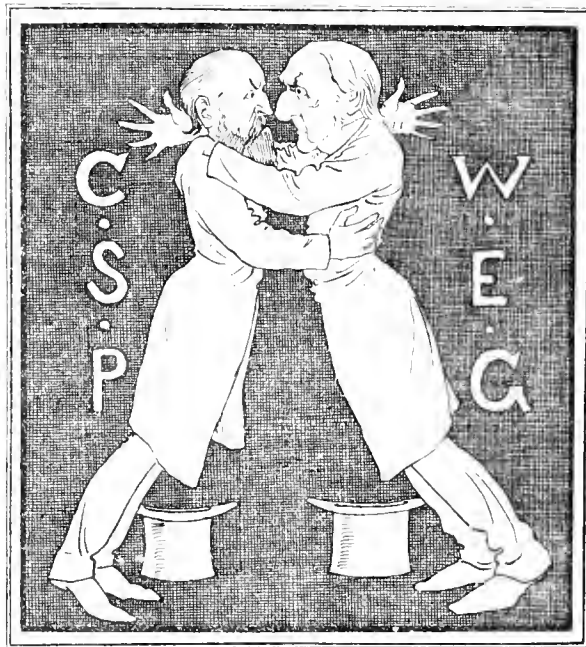
BY THE ARTIST AND JOINT-COMPILER OF THE
EGYPTIAN RED BOOK, "DIARY OF THE GLADSTONE GOVERNMENT," &c.



"THE MAN who has made himself the most prominent in the attempt to destroy the authority of the Law, and to substitute what would end in nothing more or less than anarchical oppression."

(GLADSTONE ON PARNELL, 13th October 1881.)

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS, EDINBURGH AND LONDON.



"He never hoped before—but now he hopes and breathes, because he has got the alliance of Mr. Parnell."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *24th Nov.* 1885.

THE IRISH GREEN BOOK.

"The WHOLE TRUTH should steadily be made known and pressed upon the minds of the people of England."

W. E. GLADSTONE, 30th October 1886

"The Uncrowned King."

His Nationality. "Mr Parnell is much less English or Irish than AMERICAN. He is *not* a man of large literary reading."—T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.—*The Parnell Movement*. ["He was at Magdalen College, Cambridge, from which, it is said, he was abruptly 'sent down' for knocking a man down, apparently in a fit of abstraction, and refusing to apologise."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.]

Mr Forster's Charge. "The charge against the member for Cork is not that he himself either directly planned or perpetrated outrages and murders—but that he either *connived at them*, or that, warned by facts and statements, he determined to remain in ignorance."—*The late W. E. FORSTER, M.P., 22nd February 1883.*

"First to the mass this valiant truth to tell,

Rebellion's art is *never* to rebel."—*Lytton*.

Mr Gladstone's Opinion. "Mr Parnell is very copious in his references to America, but he never found time to utter ONE WORD of disapproval or misgiving about what is known as the assassination literature of America."—W. E. G., 8th Oct. 1881.

A Rack-renting Landlord. "At Rathdrum Sessions yesterday, Mr C. S. Parnell, M.P., obtained decrees against four tenants for ARREARS OF RENT."—*Dublin Daily Express*, 2nd Nov. 1882. "On 29th April 1884, Mr Parnell sued Mrs Dora A. West, one of his tenants, for ARREARS OF RENT." [The lease contained clauses *against* the tenant seeking compensation for improvement or disturbance.] "A notice of EJECTION was read at the suit of Mr C. S. Parnell, M.P., against Thomas Thorpe and others, tenants of land known as Deer Park."—*Irish Times*, 27th March 1885. [The Parnellite Corporation of Dublin buys Mr Parnell's slate and stone at 12½ *per cent.* more than they would pay elsewhere for an equally good article.]

His Testimonial. On 13th December 1883, Mr C. S. Parnell was presented with £40,000, of which over £33,000 had been "collected" by his emissaries from the *starving peasantry* of Ireland.

"Then long may Ireland languish, enchain'd by foul oppression,
Her manufactured anguish secures me my profession."

His Mother. "Many of the Fenian Refugees found shelter in the house of Mrs Parnell, and were in this way enabled to escape."—T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.—*The Parnell Movement*. [This lady declared on 21st May 1883 that, "she saw that poor old Gladstone was shaking on his old pins."—*At Cooper Institute, New York*.]

His Election. At Cork Mr Parnell only polled 6682 votes out of a total Electorate of 14,569. [Of the total vote, 1297 Electors declared themselves to be illiterate and unable to decipher the names of the candidates.]

Parnell's Paid Patriots.

The General Election. November 1885. Mr Parnell is returned to Parliament with 85 legislative *PUPPETS*, pledged to dance to the same tune. ["Our opponents are *not the people of Ireland*. We are endeavouring to relieve the people of Ireland from a TYRANNICAL YOKE."—W. E. G., 27th October 1881.]

"No bread to dull my hunger's edge, nor scarce a drop o' cratur !
Till Parnell made me take his pledge, and be a legislator."

A Prophecy ! "You have destroyed our Parliament, but we will have our revenge. We will send into your Parliament a hundred of the greatest scoundrels in the kingdom."—*Letter from Henry Grattan.*

What the G. O. M. thought of them. "These are not persons seeking amendment of the law. They are seeking to DISMEMBER the British Empire."—W. E. G., *Hansard*, vol. 181, page 268.

[Of the Parnellite members ("my honourable Members," according to Mr C. S. Parnell, 15th July 1881) "representing" the Irish Nation, two hail from New York, one from Australia, a number from England and Scotland, and three from the office of one Dublin newspaper.]

I never sought for dear Parnell, to share with me his monthly pay ;
But when I went to ring his bell, to ask it—he had gone away !

Then.

"It is idle to talk of either law or order, or liberty or religion, or civilisation, if these gentlemen are to carry through the RECKLESS and CHAOTIC SCHEMES that they have devised."—W. E. G., 27th Oct. 1881.

Now.

"They approach ninety, and are entitled to say, 'We speak the voice of the Irish Nation.' They are *strong in their numbers*, and strongest of all in the sense of their being right."—W. E. G., 12th June 1886.

"Their cause I plead—plead it with heart and mind,
Four score of rotors makes one wondrous kind."

Joseph Gillies Biggar, M.P. "When Mr Biggar rises to address the House, a whiff of salt pork seems to float upon the gale, and the air is heavy with the kippered herring."—*The World*, 5th March 1875.

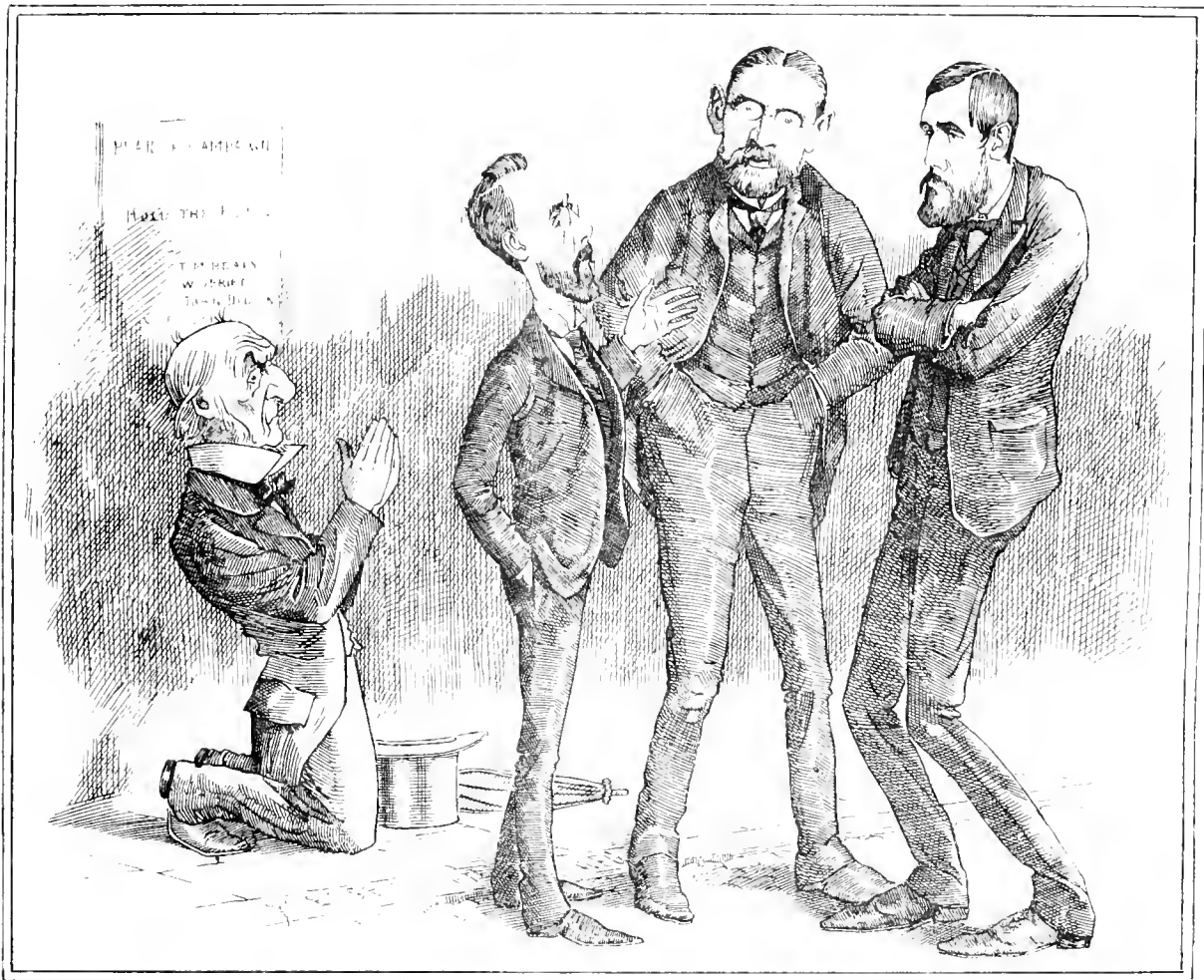
Thomas Sexton, M.P. "Mr Sexton is the Mayor-Elect of Dublin, salary £3000 per annum. His city qualification is the weekly payment of 12s. 6d. for his lodgings in Dublin. Five Parnellite M.P.'s have held the post in turn." ["As one of the Executive Committee of the Land League, Mr Sexton sat weekly in private conference with four scoundrels—Patrick Egan, Thomas Brennan, M. J. Boyton, and P. J. Sheridan (see 'THE DYNAMITARDS,' page 12), all of whom have since run away."—H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER in *Times*.]

"Who can't, with zeal sincere, upraise the cry,
My country thrives,"—unless he add—and I."

Tim M. Healy, M.P. The Patriot who would "rather be a BUG, or a Red Indian, or an African Savage, than the man with a heart like Balfour" (20th Nov. 1887); and who threatened (28th July 1887) to "break the neck" of the member for Mid-Leicester.

"I hear a lion in the lobby roar ;
Say, Mr Speaker, shall we shut the door ?"

[Writing of Mr Healy, in the *National Reformer* of 12th March 1882, Mr Bradlaugh says, "He pretended to be exceedingly friendly to me, and said that his opinions on religious questions did not much differ from mine, but that he represented a priest-ridden constituency, and was obliged to attack me."]



THE ALLIES.

"For we're the original friends of the Nation,
All the rest air a paltry and base fabrication." -*Biglow*

John Dillon, M.P. The Patriot who exposed his *unselfish* patriotism by boasting :—"The police will be all working under MY ORDERS within a year" (13th March 1887); and who further confessed how he would use his power by saying, "I know the REWARD which we shall mete out to the men who have oppressed us."—4th September 1887.

W. H. K. Redmond, M.P. "The presumptuous ignoramus whom Wexford (now Fermanagh) has returned to the House at the bidding of Mr Parnell."—H. W. LUCY, Editor of *The Daily News*.

Edmund Dwyer Gray, M.P. Editor and Proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*. ["After reading an article in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 2nd May, we decided to assassinate Mr Burke on the 3rd."—*Evidence of James Carey*, 19th Feb. 1883.] [Carey was proposed and seconded as a member of the Dublin Town Council by WILLIAM O'BRIEN, M.P., and T. D. SULLIVAN, M.P.]

William O'Brien, M.P. The Patriot who refuses to dress. "But taking the man apart from his clothes" (LORD SALISBURY, 23rd Nov. 1887), Mr O'Brien is Editor of *United Ireland*, the property of Messrs PARNELL, O'BRIEN, and JUSTIN M'CARTHY. [The newspaper in which "murder, robbery, insults to the dead, and attacks on women, were habitually described as 'Incidents of the Campaign.'"—*The late W. E. FORSTER, M.P.*, 22nd Feb. 1883.]

UNITED IRELAND AND "ALIEN OFFICIALS."

4th May 1882.

"The toads are the gang of *alien officials* who nestle in the snuggeries of the Castle. Down with the whole bundle of rottenness and imposture."—*United Ireland*.

6th May 1882.

On the second day after this article appeared, two of the *alien officials*, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr Burke, were murdered in Phoenix Park.

Tim Harrington, M.P. Secretary to the National League and keeper of the money-bag. The barrister who characterised a witness as a "ruffian," a "villain," a "scoundrel," and expressed a wish to "kick him."

"Evicted Tenants' Fund."

Between 1st Jan. and 8th Nov. 1887, } Mr Harrington has acknowledged, }	£34,416 7 9	Paid to Evicted Tenants,	£5,225 0 4
		Balance unaccounted for,	29,191 7 5
			£34,416 7 9

QUERY: where is the balance of £29,191, 7s. 5d., unaccounted for? How many of the Parnellite members are "Evicted Tenants?"

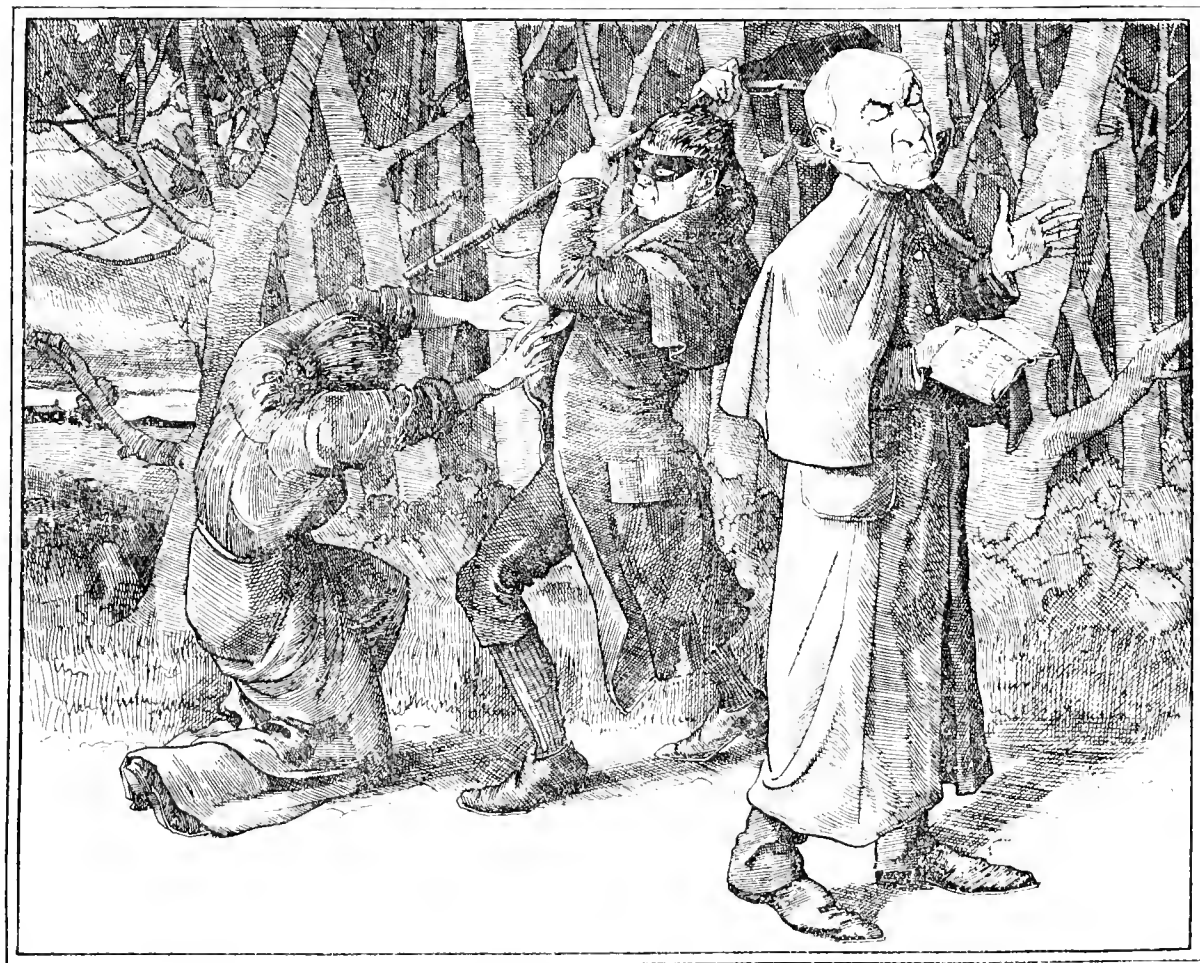
Sending Round the Hat. A large number of the Parnellite Patriots have received "Testimonials;" among others are: Messrs Lalor, A. O'Connor, O'Kelly, Sexton, Harrington, Sullivan, and Healy, to whom the sum of £5363, 16s. 3d. was given "to defray expenses in Parliament, 1883-4-5."

John Bright's Opinion of them. "They have exhibited a *boundless sympathy* for criminals and murderers. From their lips no sentence of emphatic condemnation of them was passed. There has been no word of sympathy for their victims."—J. BRIGHT, 24th July 1885. ["A patriot of the old stamp, before patriotism became profitable, and was quoted in the market at so many dollars a head."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., 12th Oct. 1887.]

The Patriots and Crime.

The Grand Old Parnellite solemnly declares: "Neither now OR AT ANY TIME have I given utterance to the sentiment, or have I entertained a *suspicion* that these gentlemen were associated with CRIME."—G. O. M., 19th April 1887.

In Dec. 1880, the G. O. P. prosecuted Messrs Parnell, Dillon, T. D. Sullivan, and Biggar, for "the CRIME of conspiracy, for boycotting, for threatening violence, for frustrating the administration of justice, and for UNLAWFULLY, WICKEDLY, and SEDITIOUSLY conspiring to create discontent among the people of Ireland."



THE POLICY OF SILENCE.

"Oh, wondrous wise ! and most convenient too."—*Coleridge.*

"The Dreary Drip of Dilatory Declamation." Between 28th Jan. 1887 and 9th Sept. 1887, six Parnellites, Messrs T. M. Healy, Chance, M. Healy, A. O'Connor, Dillon, and Tanner, made 1480 speeches in Parliament.

"So loud each tongue, so empty was each head,
So much they talked, so very little said."—*Churchill.*

"Legal" Agitation.

Desperate Expedients. Inauguration of OUTRAGES and MURDERS. Mr T. P. O'Connor, M.P., says, that in 1879 Mr Parnell became convinced "that mild methods were no longer in place, and that, if Ireland were to be saved, resort must be had to DESPERATE EXPEDIENTS."—*The Parnell Movement*, p. 297. [Result.—Outrages in Ireland increased from 974, in first quarter of 1880, to 2360, in first quarter of 1882.]

"THE LIBERATOR."

"No political Reform is worth the shedding of ONE
DROP of blood."—DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"THE UNCROWNED KING."

"We are obliged to make the situation a very hot
one indeed. It is impossible that the great cause can
be won without shedding A DROP of blood."—C. S.
PARNELL, *Brooklyn*, 15th Jan. 1880.

Tim M. Healy, M.P. Says the Grand Old Parnellite—"Mr Healy, in the most emphatic manner, and with evident reference to the declaration of O'Connell, told the House of Commons, and repeated it twice over, 'I am not one of your SINGLE-DROP-OF-BLOOD MEN.'"—*W. E. G.*, 27th Oct. 1881.

Bread v. Lead. Mr Parnell tells a story: "I will tell you an incident that happened in America. A gentleman came to the platform and handed me 25 dollars, saying, 'Here are 5 dollars for BREAD, and 20 dollars for LEAD.'"—C. S. PARNELL, 20th April 1880. [Mr M. Boyton, the organiser of the *Land League*, subsequently explained (30th May 1880) that these 20 dollars were quite safe, and that he would refuse to say what they were going to do with them.]

Public Plunder. "For nearly the first time in the history of Christendom a body—a small body of men has arisen, who are not ashamed to preach in Ireland the doctrine of public plunder."—*W. E. G.*, 7th Oct. 1881. [8th April 1886. For absolutely the first time in the history of Christendom, a Prime Minister of England has arisen, who is not ashamed to homologate those doctrines.]

"He strives to break, not build, a generous race,
What cares he?—Only that he keeps his place."

"The Cause of Legality." "I think those people MURDERED yesterday will help us forward now."—C. S. PARNELL, *Newark, New Jersey*, 6th Jan. 1880. ["Every man who is guilty of the SLIGHTEST breach of the law, is an enemy of Ireland."—DANIEL O'CONNELL.]

W. E. GLADSTONE, 28th Jan. 1881.

"With fatal and painful precision, the steps of CRIME
dogged the steps of the Land League."

W. E. GLADSTONE, 4th October 1886.

"I rejoice, gentlemen, to think that the cause in
which you are embarked, is the cause of ORDER, the
cause of PEACE, the cause of LEGALITY, the cause of
FAITH."—*Speech to Irish Deputations.*

"With calmest mind the sleek old rebel saw,
His Irish rival break, yet shirk, the law."

Irish Moderation. "Unquestionably the moderation of Ireland has relieved us of many difficulties."—G. O. HOME RULER, 4th October 1886. ["The outcome of the Irish Agitation was MURDER."—W. E. FORSTER, 22nd Feb. 1883.] ["We have had to deal with CRIME UNDISCOVERED, SECRET CONSPIRACY, and threads which must be unravelled to their fountain-head."—LORD SPENCER, 18th June 1884.]



THE CAUSE OF ORDER.

"The cause in which you are embarked, gentlemen, is the cause of order, the cause of peace, the cause of legality, the cause of faith." - W. E. GLADSTONE, *4th Oct. 1886.*

Sir W. V. Harcourt's Opinion. "When we see men seeking the support of arms to assist their purposes, and find members of the Land League in communication with COMMUNISM in Paris, and FENIANISM in America, then, I say, the maxim applies, *noscitur ex sociis*."—Sir W. V. Harcourt, *Hansard*, vol. 250, p. 842.

While others seek in politics for honour or for pelf,
One word sums up my policy : and that word is—MYSELF.

The Moonlighters. Mr Parnell acknowledges his influence with the Moonlighters, and writes—"If the Arrears question is settled, I have every confidence that the exertions which we should make, WOULD BE EFFECTUAL in stopping outrages and intimidation."—15th May 1882. [The Arrears question was *not* settled, so Outrages and Murders were allowed to proceed.]

TOTAL OUTRAGES—May 1880 to March 1886, 11,933

[Of which 9585 were unconvicted cases.]

[Speaking in his "humble private residence" at Hawarden, the G. O. Pecksniff said, on 4th Oct. 1886:—"I know of but ONE CASE in which the Irish Nation has been immoderate during the progress of this great struggle, and that case, gentlemen, is the excess of those terms in which you have been pleased to convey your acknowledgments to myself."]

The Dynamitards.

The Fenians and the Parnellites. "It cannot be denied that between Mr Parnell and the leaders of the Irish and the leaders of the Fenian organisations of America and Ireland, there exists means of communication which practically unite the whole movement into ONE BODY."—LORD BARTINGTON, 12th July 1886.

The Practical Joke. "You may have heard of an explosion of dynamite at Salford. There was the death of one person, and the death of another was expected, and Mr Parnell said that that occurrence appeared to him to bear the character of a practical joke."—W. E. G., 7th Oct. 1881. ["All sorts of theories are afloat concerning that explosion, but the TRULY LOYAL one is that Fenianism did it."—THOMAS BRENNAN (Mr Parnell's secretary), 29th Jan. 1881.]

Mr Parnell's Lieutenants. "A crowded meeting of the Dynamitards was held last night. Among the notables present were P. J. SHERIDAN, late special envoy of Mr Parnell; WALSH, Land League organiser; FRANK BRYNE, Secretary of the English Branch of the League; THOMAS BRENNAN, Chief Secretary of the League; and PATRICK EGAN, its Treasurer—all 'wanted' for their alleged complicity in the Phoenix Park murders."—*New York Daily News*, 3rd Feb. 1884.

Patrick J. Sheridan. Mr Sheridan was a member of the Executive Council of the Land League (of which Mr Parnell and Mr Sexton were also members), and was the medium offered by Mr Parnell to Mr Forster, under the Kilmainham Treaty, to put down outrages in Ireland. [He is now in America, a true bill for WILFUL MURDER having been found against him.]

"What are these that howl and hiss across the strait of westward water?

Thieves and murderers' hands yet red with blood, and tongues yet black with lies."—A. C. Swinburne.

"The Joe Brady Club," 23rd March 1881. "Frank Byrne, late Secretary to the Land League, took the chair, at the Joe Brady Club, and strongly advocated the use of DYNAMITE, the TORCH, and the DAGGER."—*New York Herald*, 24th March 1881. [Mr Byrne was the "brave little woman" who provided the weapons for the murders in the Phoenix Park.]

"The Irish World." Mr Parnell telegraphs—"Thanks to the *Irish World* and its readers for their constant co-operation and substantial support in our great cause."—Telegram to *Irish World*, 26th Jan. 1881. [During two years up to Nov. 1882, the Land League received £51,000 from the *Irish World*.]



"CONSPICUOUS MODERATION."

"Our speech is now as smooth and soft as one of William's collars ;
The only 'big, big D's' we know are Dynamite and Dollars."

The Editor of the "Irish World." The Editor of the *Irish World* is MR PATRICK FORD, who writes of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr Burke as "*the victory in the Phoenix Park,*" and who has been an open advocate of *dynamite* and *gunpowder*.

"A Political Agent." "Some think it is an open question whether the political agent called '*Dynamite*' was first commissioned in Russia or Ireland. Still we claim the *merit* for Ireland."—PATRICK FORD, 12th June 1880.

Michael Davitt's Guide. Mr Davitt acknowledges his indebtedness to the *Irish World*, and says:—"The *Irish World*, which of course means PATRICK FORD, has almost always been a *guide*, *philosopher*, and *friend* of mine since my liberation from Dartmoor."—MICHAEL DAVITT, 24th October 1885. [Mr Ford, "the most prominent representative of Irish-American assassination literature."—Sir G. O. TREVELYAN, M.P., 8th April 1886.]

Mr Parnell's Emissaries. In August 1886 Mr W. O'BRIEN, M.P., and Mr J. E. REDMOND, M.P., visited America, and, according to the *Irish World* of 31st August, had a "Privy Council" meeting with the "chiefs" of the party in New York. There were present PATRICK FORD, PATRICK EGAN, ALEX. SULLIVAN, and the two Parnellite members.

The Separatist Government and the Dynamitards. Mr Campbell-Bannerman admits that the dynamitards were consulted by the Cabinet on the Home Rule Bill, and says:—"Information *was sought* from the leaders of those millions of Irishmen in America, who form so serious an element in the people with whom we have to deal now-a-days."—*At Stirling*, 25th June 1886. ["Irish affairs make British politicians acquainted with *strange bed-fellows*."—J. MORLEY, M.P., 16th Sept. 1885.]

Separation.

At Hawarden. The G. O. Separatist says: "There is *one word* that I don't think escapes from your lips in connection with these measures, and that word is SEPARATION. There was a period when it was thought of, and that was the deplorable and disastrous period between 1795 and 1800, and the period of the Rebellion in 1798."—*Grand Old Citizen of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford*, 4th Oct. 1886.

Mr John Morley, M.P. "That there is a section of Irishmen who desire SEPARATION is notorious."—JOHN MORLEY, M.P., *Hand-book of Home Rule*, Oct. 1887.

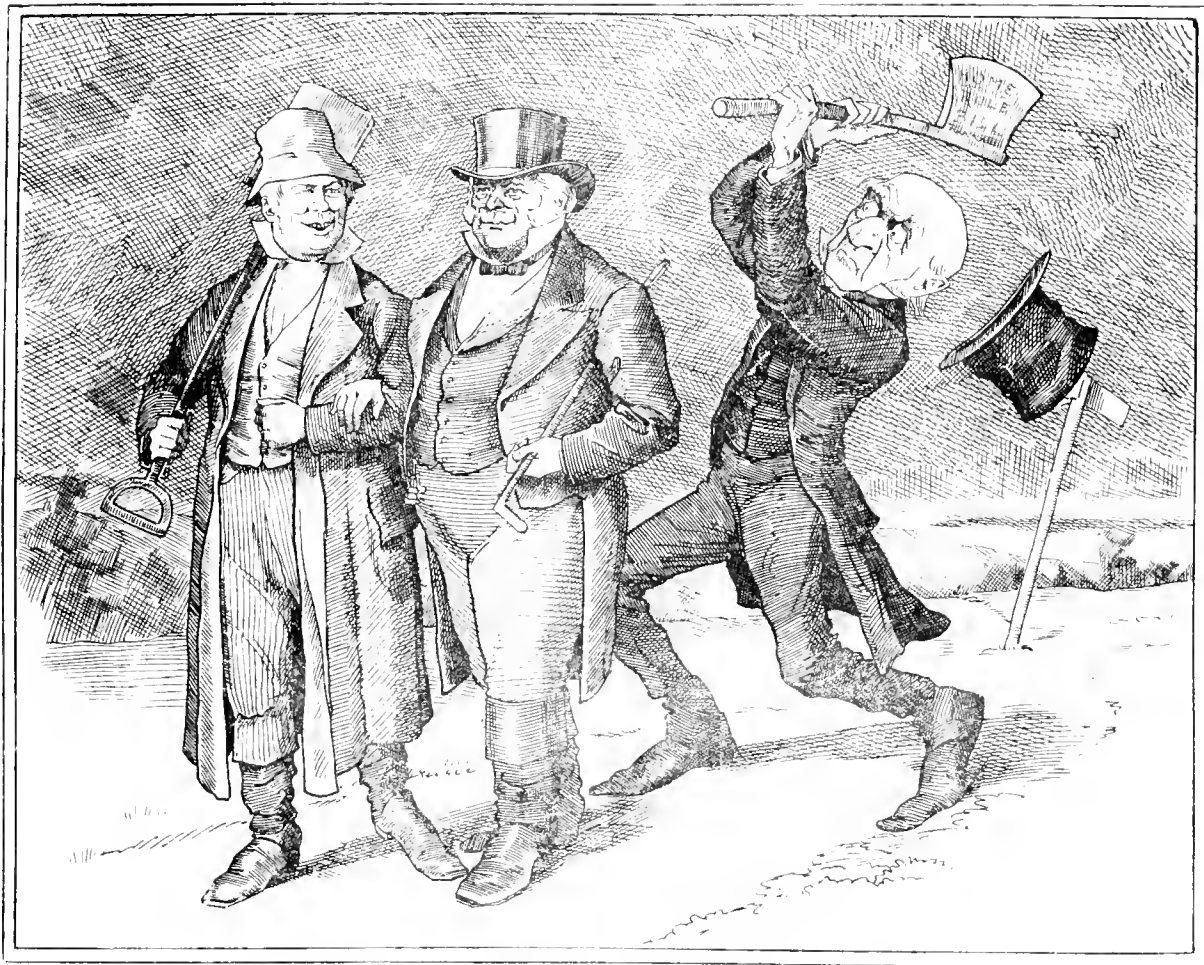
Sir W. V. Harcourt, M.P. Two months before his Parnellite bath, this patriot declared: "There can be no doubt what is the policy that he (Parnell) and his party have adopted—it is a policy of absolute SEPARATION of the two countries."—SIR W. V. H., 17th Sept. 1885. ["Sir William Harcourt is so destitute of any political principle, that he may be trusted to take up any cry that *pays*."—T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., *Gladstone's House of Commons*, p. 253.]

"Still every day with more and more of Irish zeal I'm burnin',
Seeing which way the tide that sets to office is a-turnin'."

Mr Campbell-Bannerman, M.P. One month before "Salvation," this Patriot said: "I would give no countenance to the schemes of those who seek to injure this country, as they would assuredly ruin their own, by SEPARATION, under one name or another."—*Election Address*, Nov. 1885.

Sir George O. Trevelyan, M.P. Thinking his seat for the Border Burghs was secure, this Weather-cock said: "If we embark on this course, we may just as well come to SEPARATION once for all."—8th April 1886. ["The most sneaking Scotchman that ever crossed the Channel."—W. O'BRIEN, M.P., on Sir George Trevelyan, 7th Sept. 1884.]

Michael Davitt. "I have always declared myself a SEPARATIST on principle."—26th August 1887.



SEPARATION.

"He strives to break, not build, a generous race ;
What cares he ? Only that he keeps his place."

W. H. K. Redmond, M.P. During the debate on the Franchise Bill, Mr Redmond said: "You need not think that the Bill will have the effect of staying the SEPARATIST character of the agitation. We will never cease that agitation until we fully obtain our object."

Another notion, Grand Old Man, to settle Irish traitors:

Buy up the Landlords! Cleaver plan—*buy up the agitators.*

"Ireland—A Nation."

Parnell's Proclamation. 3rd Nov. 1885. A month before the G. O. M.'s conversion to Home Rule, the Uncrowned King declared—"We will never accept anything but the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs, and make our land a NATION; to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own course among the peoples of the world" [*with 86 Patriots (salaried) at the helm.*]

W. E. GLADSTONE.

When Irish votes were unnecessary.

"I will consent to give to Ireland, no principle, nothing that is not to be upon equal terms offered to Scotland, and to the different portions of the United Kingdom."—26th November 1879.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

When Irish votes were necessary.

"Now (!) I deny the justice of the principle that self-Government in Ireland is necessarily limited by the wishes of England and Scotland for themselves."

14th April 1886.

"Oh! that mine enemy would make a speech."—W. E. G., 1st Dec. 1879.

The End in View. 7th Oct. 1883. Mr Arthur O'Connor, M.P., says—"Our end is the re-establishment of the people of Ireland as an INDEPENDENT NATION." [*And the establishment of ourselves as a paid Executive.*]

Britain v. Ireland. 8th Sept. 1885. Mr J. E. Redmond, M.P., says—"Perish the Empire and live IRELAND." [*And the brothers Redmond.*]

National Independence. 21st Jan. 1883. Mr W. H. K. Redmond, M.P., says:—"We look upon no concession as adequate until we have reached the goal of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE." [*With right to divide the spoil.*]

The Green Flag. 22nd Feb. 1883. Mr J. J. Clancy, M.P., said that—"Until the IRISH NATIONAL flag floated over a FREE Parliament on College Green, there would be no peace or contentment in Ireland." [*Or permanent places for Parnellite Patriots.*]

No More Queens. At an Irish banquet on 17th March 1886, over which Mr E. Dwyer Gray, M.P., presided, and at which Lord Ashburnham was present, *the Queen's health was omitted*, and the Fenian toast, "IRELAND—A NATION," took its place. ["They (the Irish) did not desire to have anything more to do with *Kings and Queens*, for the only style of government to which Irishmen could look for freedom and prosperity was one which would be democratic and REPUBLICAN."—W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., 24th Aug. 1885.]

The Complete Programme. "When the complete programme of the League is accomplished, the soil of Ireland will be free, its people owning no master but the Almighty [*and Parnell & Co.*], and owning no flag but the green flag of an INDEPENDENT NATION."—W. O'BRIEN, M.P., 23rd August 1881.

Gladstone v. Harcourt.

W. E. GLADSTONE says:—"When we know in substance that *which is demanded by Ireland*, through her constitutionally chosen representatives, we cannot hasten too soon to meet it."—13th April 1886.

["I know that some people are very impatient to references to the past, but you will generally find that those are the people whose past will not bear very much examination."—Sir W. V. H., 17th Sept. 1885.]

Sir W. V. HARCOURT says:—"If we are to govern Ireland according to *Irish ideas*, I fear we shall find ourselves reduced to the consequences of not governing Ireland at all."—*Hansard*, vol. 214, p. 1618.



COERCION.

"We all are patriots of the stamp that brag and run away :
Whene'er we see a Bobby's lamp, we call another day !"

And After? 21st January 1885. Mr Parnell confesses—"No man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of A NATION. (Great cheers.) We have never attempted to fix *ne plus ultra* to the progress of Ireland's NATIONHOOD, and we never shall." [So long as the salaries are paid regularly.]

"Treason doth never prosper; what's the reason?
Why, if it prosper, none dare call it treason."

The Irish Landlords.

The Bag and Baggage Policy. Mr John Morley (before the Parnellite Alliance) expresses his fears of the Irish patriots, and asks: "Are you prepared to see the landlords sent flying for their lives, with bag and baggage?"—JOHN MORLEY, *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1882. [Mr W. O'Brien, M.P., prophesies: "There will be no healthy life in Ireland until the origin of the pestilence (the landlords) are driven, *bag and baggage*, out of the land."—17th Feb. 1883.]

Then.

W. E. GLADSTONE, Prime Minister, says: "Are you prepared to denude the Irish Landlords of *their interest* in the land, and, what is more, are you prepared to absolve them from *THEIR DUTIES* with regard to the land? I, for one, confess that I am not."—15th Feb. 1870.

Now.

W. E. GLADSTONE, Prime Minister, introduces his Land Purchase Bill, by which Irish Landlords are to be denuded of *their interest* in the land, and *THEIR DUTIES* with regard to it, at a cost to the British Taxpayer of *Fifty Millions*—or more.—16th April 1886.

"No shrewder minister e'er served a throne,
Or joined his country's interests with his own."

Gladstone v. Dillon. The G. O. Ostrich gushes over the "moderation" of the Parnellites, and says: "As they now command an overwhelming majority, so all ground of suspicion of a *desire to destroy* the landed property of Ireland has disappeared."—20th Oct. 1887. [Ten days afterwards, Mr John Dillon advocates the abolition of landlords, and declares that, "with the disappearance of the landlords, the power of the FOREIGN Government would disappear also, and their old NATIONS and race would become FREE and INDEPENDENT again."—At LIMERICK, 1st Nov. 1887.]

The Real Aim. Sir W. V. Harcourt (before salvation) says:—"Mr Parnell admits now that what he wants is not fair rent; he wants NO RENT at all."—Sir W. V. H., 25th October 1881. [Mr T. P. O'Connor describes Sir William's manner as being "something like a servant girl that mistakes sulks for dignity."—*Gladstone's House of Commons*, p. 257.]

"Do spirits flow, and is good-breeding placed
In any set circumference of waist?"—Churchill.

[Mr Tim Healy, M.P., says:—"The people of this country never will be satisfied so long as a single penny of rent is paid for a sod of land in the whole of Ireland."—10th Nov. 1883.]

"Down with Land Agents." The G. O. M. accuses Colonel Dopping of trying, with an UNLOADED rifle, to shoot a boy, and rejoices (amid cries of "shame") that a policeman "prevented him from fulfilling his purpose."—18th Oct. 1887. [20th Nov. 1887. The G. O. M. apologises.]

Rack-Renting. The G. O. M. denies that rack-renting exists in Ireland now, and says:—"By means of the Irish Land Act, I feel confident that almost *every case* of over-renting in Ireland has been touched."—W. E. G., 1st Sept. 1881. [Mr John Dillon boasts:—"I will show the agent men who can pay (rent) and won't pay, because I tell them NOT TO PAY."—At Glenbeigh, 24th Jan. 1887.]

"Your pence to-day, your liberties next year;
Erin-go-bragh!—I thank you for that cheer."—*The New Timon*.



THE NEW POLICY.

"The uncrowned king" has changed his note, to quell the Irish row ;
And William G. has turned his coat, and goes Moonlighting now."

Irish "Justice." "If the tenant farmers of Ireland shoot down landlords, as partridges are shot in September, Matthew Harris never would say ONE WORD against them."—MATTHEW HARRIS, M.P., 24th Oct. 1880.

Hey, diddle diddle, the landlords we'll riddle, and blow the "House" over the moon.
Then Rossa will laugh to see such sport, and Gladstone will count it a boon.

["If full justice were done to Irish Landlords, they would not receive their fares from Kingston to Holyhead."—MICHAEL DAVITT, 3rd Sept. 1883.]

Mr John Morley's Doubts. "If we are to undertake Home Rule, are we to make terms for the landlords beforehand? If so, *what is the security* that the terms will be observed?"—JOHN MORLEY, *Nineteenth Century*, Nov 1882. [10th Oct. 1885. The "uncrowned King" acknowledges that *no terms* will be binding to the Irish party, and says:—"If our claims are conceded, *I have no mandate* from the Irish people to dictate a course of conduct to those who may succeed us."—C. S. PARNELL.]

Irish Crime.

Fiction. The Grand Old Moonlighter says: "Be it known to you, that there is LESS crime in Ireland per million of population than there is in England or Scotland."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *Hawarden*, 31st May 1887.

Fact. [From the *Judicial Statistics*, 1886, pages 16 and 17.]

	Total Crimes during 1885.	Estimated Population.	Crimes per Million of Population.
IRELAND, .	231,313	4,924,342	46,900
ENGLAND, . .	698,143	25,974,439	26,800
SCOTLAND, . .	125,124	3,735,573	33,400

English Convictions. "In England, if the Irish were as orderly as the rest of the population, there would be 3500 prisoners sent to the gaols, instead of 22,000."—SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, M.P., 7th March 1885. [The Irish female furnishes no less than ONE-FIFTH of the entire prison population of England and Wales.]

Boycotting.

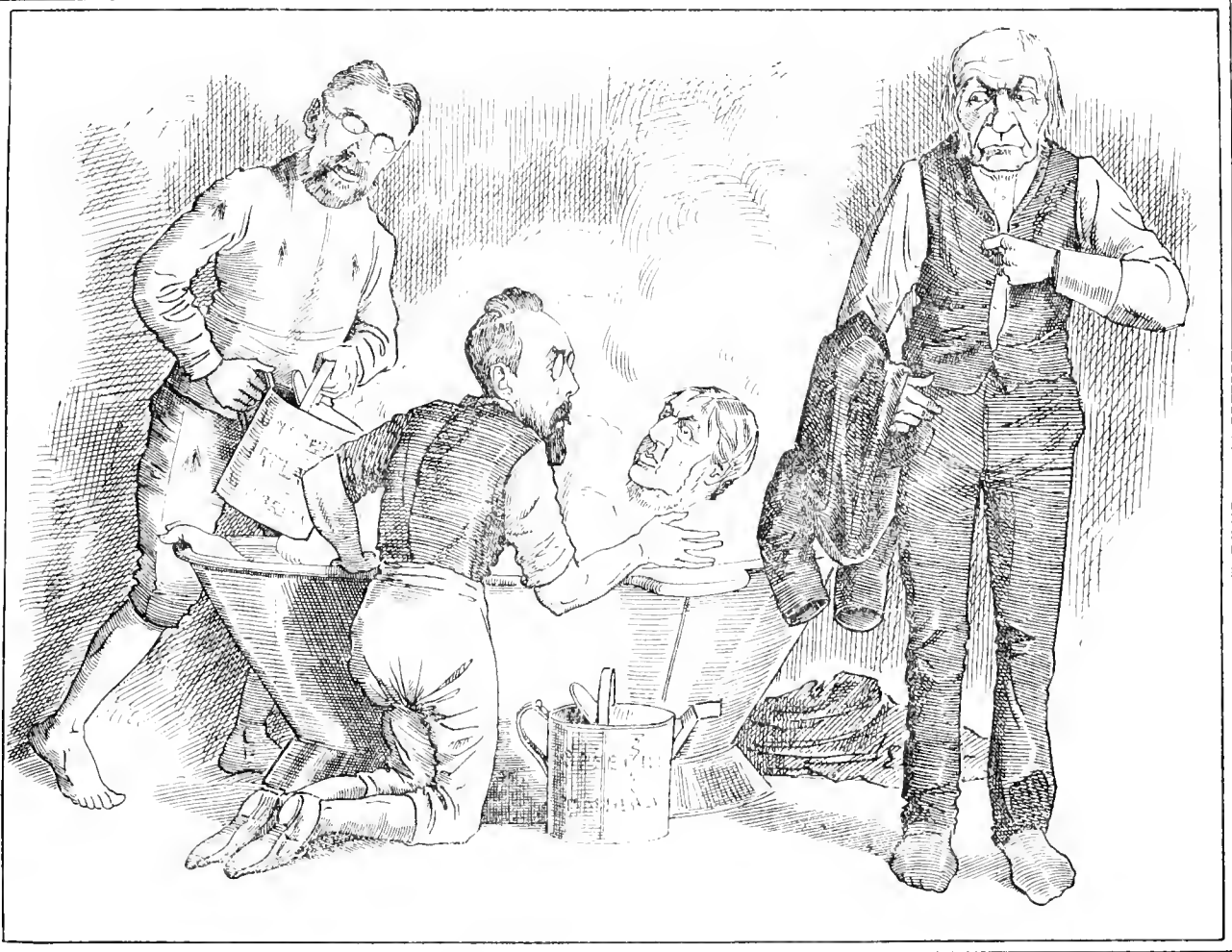
Then.

The Grand Old Coercionist, anxious to blacken his Parnellite opponents, says: "What is boycotting? It is combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberties of choice by fear of ruin and starvation."—HOUSE OF COMMONS, 24th May 1882. On the same date the G. O. M. refuted himself in advance by saying: "EXCLUSIVE DEALING is a totally different thing."

Now.

The Grand Old Parliamentary Hand, anxious to whitewash his Parnellite allies, describes boycotting (4th July 1887) as "EXCLUSIVE DEALING," and subsequently as "natural," "lawful," and "necessary combinations," and, further, as "the ONLY INSTRUMENT by which, in their unfortunate circumstances, they (the Nationalists) could defend their rights."—AT DERBY, 20th Oct. 1887.

Boycotting and Murder. "That which stands in the rear of boycotting, and by which alone boycotting can be made thoroughly effective, is THE MURDER which is not to be denounced."—W. E. G., 24th May 1882. [During August 1887 over 5000 persons were undergoing boycotting in Ireland.]



THE PARNELLITE BATH.

"I will let them (the Tories) for a few months stew in their own Parnellite juice, and when they stink in the nostrils of the country, then the country will fling them, discredited and disgraced, to the Constituencies."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, 7th Dec. 1885.

The Separatist Government.

Before the Election. The Grand Old Separatist says—"Let me suppose that the Liberal Party might be returned in a minority, which might become a majority *by aid of the Irish vote*. Now, gentlemen, I tell you, SERIOUSLY AND SOLEMNLY, that it *would not be safe* for it to enter into the consideration of a measure in respect of which it would be in the power of the party coming from Ireland to say—"unless you do this and unless you do that, WE WILL TURN YOU OUT TO-MORROW."—W. E. G., *9th November* 1885.

[“What the Leader of the Liberal Party, SERIOUSLY AND SOLEMNLY declared to be unsafe, the Prime Minister has now deliberately undertaken.”—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., *11th June* 1886.]

“Constituents air handy to help a man in,

But arterwards, don't weigh the heft of a pin.”—*Biglow*.

The General Election, 1885. The result of the Election was a Liberal *minority*, (331), which might become a majority by aid of the Irish vote (86). [18th Dec. 1885.—The G. O. Parliamentary Hand (in a minority) permits the announcement, through the National Press Agency, that he has swallowed the entire Home Rule “Ticket.”]

“A sudden thought strikes me—let us swear eternal friendship.”—*Cunning*.

The Voice of Ireland. 1885. The total Parnellite vote was 296,960, out of a total Electorate of 737,758, equal to only 40 per cent., or *two-fifths* of the whole. [98,404 voters declared themselves illiterate.]

The Gladstone-Parnellite Alliance. 26th Jan. 1886.—Lord Salisbury defeated by the Liberals, RE-INFORCED BY 79 PARNELLITE VOTES. [“They have acted in the closest alliance with Mr Parnell, *by the help of his votes* they defeated the late Government.”—SIR W. V. HARCOCK, *17th Sept.* 1885]

“In person tall, a form we all approve;

What pity 'tis the thing was made to move.”

Its Cost! July 1885.—Mr John Morley prophesies of his opponents. “As for the new Government, they came into power as *Mr Parnell's Lieutenants*. His vote has installed them; it can displace them; *it has its price*, and the price will be paid.”—*Macmillan's Magazine*, p. 233. [8th April 1886.—The Grand Old Lientenant begins to *pay the price* of Irish support, and introduces his “Parnellite Government of Ireland Bill.”]

“Down with the Speaker.” 1st April 1887.—The Grand Old Parnellite continues to pay the price, by marching out of the House of Commons at the head of his Irish brigade, amid cries of “Down with the Speaker.”

[“The followers of Mr Parnell do not give votes for nothing.”—LORD ROSEBERRY, *15th Oct.* 1885.]

Mr Parnell's Opinion of Mr Gladstone.

Before the Price had been paid.

“No misrepresentation is too low or too mean for him (Mr Gladstone) to stoop to, and it is a good sign that this masquerading knight-errant, this pretended champion of the liberties of every nation, except the Irish nation, is obliged to throw off the mask.”—C. S. PARNELL, *9th Oct.* 1881.

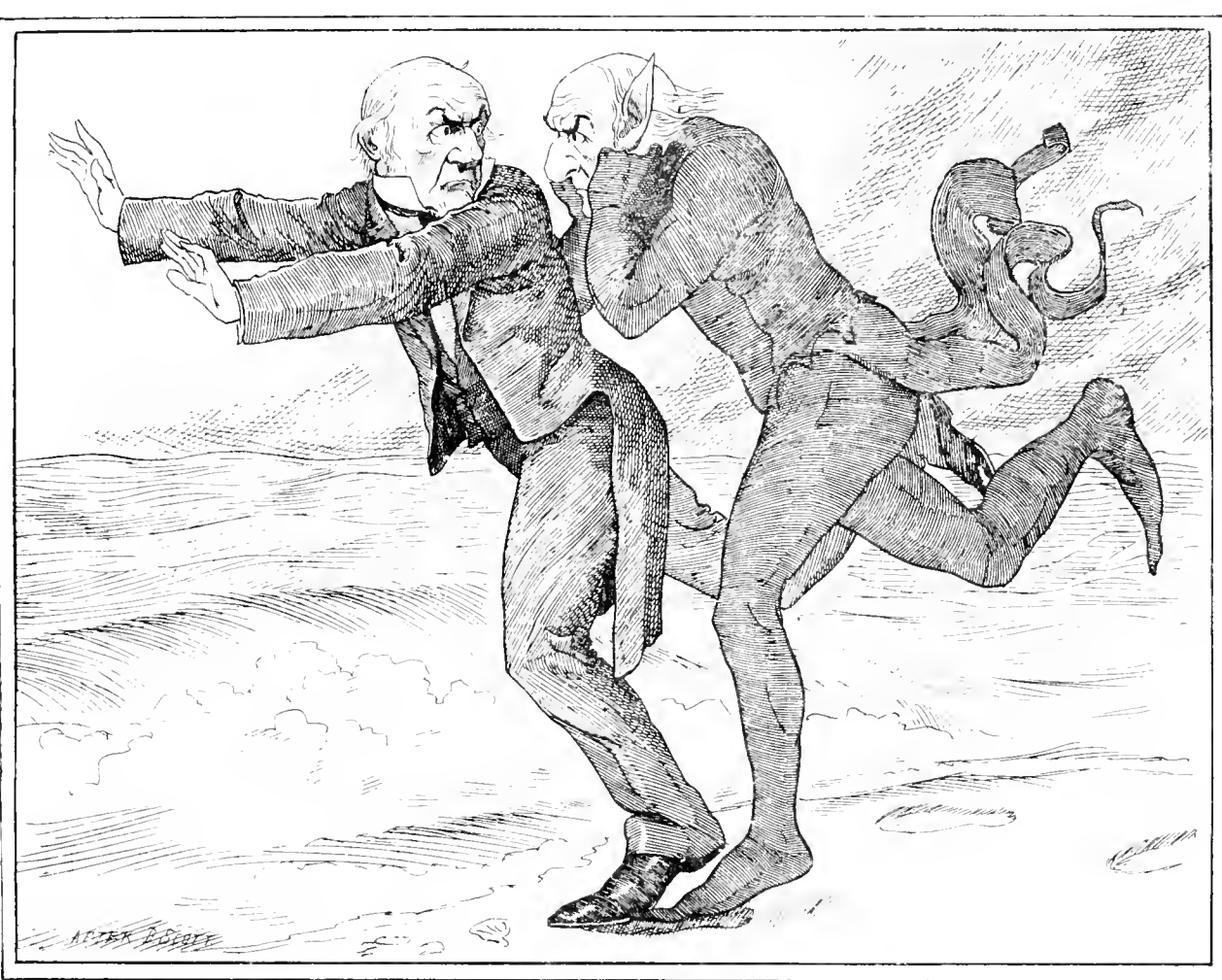
After the Price had been paid.

“Mr Gladstone—the illustrious Englishman who towers head and shoulders above all other living men—for whose equal as a statesman and a philanthropist, we have to search the pages of history in vain.”—C. S. PARNELL, *26th June* 1886.

Home Rule in 1880. W.E.G., in a majority, and independent of Irish support, says—“It was intended to insinuate that Liberals were disposed to *break down the authority of Parliament* by fostering the Home Rule movement. There was not *a shadow of evidence* to be produced in support of the charge.”—*22nd March* 1880.

“The ‘Kean’ of orators, with equal art, he cons a whisper, and prepares a start.

What fire! what freshness!—why suspend the praise? Does he believe a syllable he says?”—*Lytton*.



“ DOGGED.”

“The League is dogged by Crime,” you cried, both in and out of season ;
And now, while close with crime allied, *your* steps are dogged by TREASON !”

The Act of Union.

The G. O. M. and the Union. "She (Ireland through her lawful representatives) recognises the fact that the Union, lawlessly as it was obtained, CANNOT, and OUGHT NOT, to be repealed."—W. E. G., *12th June 1886*. ["We (the Parnellites) assert that the Union is a *sacreligious insult*, for which *we require reparation*, and to which we will no longer submit."—SIR THOS. ESMONDE, M.P., *Jan. 1886*.]

The Last Link. "None of us, whether we are in America or Ireland, will be satisfied until *we have destroyed the LAST LINK* which keeps Ireland bound to England."—C. S. PARNEILL, M.P., *Cincinnati, 23rd Feb. 1880*. ["I believe he (Parnell) speaks the mind of the vast majority of Ireland's representatives."—W. E. G., *8th April 1886*.]

"Some lie beneath the churchyard stone,
And some before the Speaker."—*W. M. Praed*.

The Accursed Act. "Never since the ACCURSED ACT OF UNION have the hopes of the Irish people for INDEPENDENCE been more likely than now to be accomplished."—T. M. HEALY, M.P., *1st June 1884*.

A Nation of Cowards. "One insult heaped upon our leader by a nation of cowards strengthens the feeling, *ever present to my mind*, in favour of STRIKING OFF THE UNION with England."—JOHN DILLON, M.P., *14th Oct. 1881*.

Sir William V. Harcourt's Opinion. "It is an agitation whose object is to *destroy the Union* of the Empire, and to overthrow the established Government of the UNITED Kingdom."—*25th Oct. 1881*.

Sir George O. Trevelyan's Opinion. This Prodigal *was* of opinion that—"Unless we intend to keep the care of law and order in the hands of the Central Government, we had better go in at once for REPEALING THE UNION."—*30th Dec. 1885*.

The Parnell Parliament.

Irish Grievances. The Grand Old Home Ruler says, at Aberdeen:—"Why is Parliament to be broken up? Has Ireland any great grievances? What is it that Ireland has demanded from the Imperial Parliament, and that the Imperial Parliament has refused?"—W. E. G., *Aberdeen, 26th Sept. 1871*.

Surrender! "We have a Prime Minister, in the very height of his popularity, turning round upon himself, upon all that he said—or *was understood to say*—and making AN ABJECT SURRENDER to the vile conspiracy which has endeavoured to shake the constancy of English statesmen *by threats of outrage and assassination*."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., *2nd July 1886*.

"Capital, capital, Gladstone's plan, make me a Parliament fast as you can;
Build it, and fill it with cash from J. B., and then hand it over to Rossa and me."

["A separate Parliament, in which men like Sheridan [*see 'THE DYNAMITARDS,' page 12*] and Egan are pretty sure to be *prominent members*."—SIR GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, *8th April 1886*.]

John Bright. "Our great Premier, in the difficulties of his position, must really, on this matter, almost have LOST HIS HEAD."—*1st July 1886*.

Mr Spurgeon's Opinion. "The whole scheme is as full of dangers and absurdities as if it came from a MADMAN."—C. H. SPURGEON, *27th May 1886*.

Matthew Arnold's Opinion. "It takes one's breath away to find an English statesman propounding it. Was there ever such MADNESS heard of?"—*Nineteenth Century*, May 1886.

"Gone from the sweets of office; gone from the head of Affairs;
Gone in the head, they tell us; gone, and there's no one cares."

The Turn-coat Party.

Buying English Patriots. "The Union was passed by buying Irish patriots: it was only necessary that English patriots should be bought to abrogate it."—H. LABOUCHERE, in *Truth*, 13th Feb. 1886.

"Corruptly frank, he *buys* or bullies all,
And is, what placemen call, the practical."—LYTTON.

Sir W. V. Harcourt. "Not being a HOME RULER, I have never adopted the idea of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas."—Sir W. V. H., *Hansard*, vol. 214, p. 1618. ["All men have their price."—*Walpole*.]

"An' if a man can, when provisions have riz so,
Eat up his own words, it's a mercy it is so."—*Bglow*.

Lord Spencer. "The statesmen of this nation will not give up *one point* or *one idea* which they consider necessary to maintain the UNITED Parliament of England."—LORD SPENCER, 18th June 1884. ["Earl Spencer is a fourth-rate Englishman, a dullard in Parliament, a sour failure in society."—*United Ireland*, 20th Sept. 1884.]

Mr Campbell-Bannerman. "When we come to the question of giving them a separate Parliament and a separate Government, *then*, I confess, *I see great difficulty*. It would not be consistent with the INTEGRITY of the EMPIRE and the DUTY of the CROWN."—*Election Address*, Nov. 1885. [This Patriot, according to Mr Mundella, "found salvation," after finding office under the G. O. M., with £5000 per annum.]

Mr H. C. E. Childers. "There cannot be two Parliaments in this country."—*Gth Jan.* 1886. [This Patriot also "found salvation"—and £5000 per annum.]

"Sir George Otto" and Mr Trevelyan. "If I had supported that scheme (Home Rule Bill) after what I said to you in November last, I never should have ventured to *look you in the face* again."—G. O. T., 2nd July 1886. [August 1887. This G. O. Turncoat does *not* venture to look his old constituents in the face, but crawls down to a seat in Glasgow, masquerading as a Gladstonian Home Ruler.]

"I 'gree with you, it ain't so dreadful troublesome to vote
For Gladstone after all,—it's just to go and change your coat."—LOWELL (*revised*).

The Loyal Minority. "Sir George Otto" says: "I absolutely refuse to allow every poor doctor and lawyer and clergyman, every sheriff's officer and bailiff and process-server, and the witnesses in every recent trial, to be ABANDONED TO THEIR FATE."—G. O. T., 8th April 1886.

Abandoned to their Fate. Mr John Dillon throws off the mask, and threatens: "Every man who stands aside is a dastard and a coward, and he and his children WILL BE REMEMBERED in the days that are near, when Ireland is a free Nation."—LIMERICK, 20th Sept. 1887. ["As they (the Parnellites) have obtained greater power, *their moderation* has become conspicuous."—W. E. GLADSTONE, 20th Oct. 1887.]

Conspicuous Moderation. Mr Michael Davitt, with "conspicuous moderation," announces: "Men like myself have been preaching to the people, 'Do not commit any outrage, do not be guilty of any violence, do not break the law!' Well, I am *heartily ashamed* of ever having given such advice to the Irish people."—3rd June 1887.



THE TURN-COAT GOVERNMENT.

"We join the cry: 'Ireland—a Nation!'

Since when? Oh! why—just since 'Salvation!'"

More Moderation. Mr Arthur O'Connor, M.P., at New Jersey, boasts, also with "conspicuous moderation :"—
"These men (the Irish-Americans present) are ready to fight for Ireland, and any nation which England tries to strike can have a hundred thousand such men to fight against the British crown."—16th Oct. 1887.

"The Union of Hearts."

The Unchangeable Passion. Says Mr T. Sexton, M.P.—"The one unchangeable passion between Ireland and England is the passion of HATE."—14th October 1881. [To be changed to LOVE, according to W. E. G., by the payment, from Ireland to England, of £3,243,000 annual tribute.]

J. J. Clancy, M.P. "I hate the British Rule, and I HATE the British Parliament."—18th Oct. 1885.

"Pray, Goody, please to moderate the rancour of your tongue ;
Remember, when the judgment's weak, the prejudice is strong."—*Kane O'Hara.*

Michael Davitt. "He hoped every young man there would have registered a vow to bear towards *England* and English Government in Ireland, all the concentrated HATE of his Irish nature."—4th June 1887.

W. H. K. Redmond, M.P. "We are all united in our HATRED of England."—19th Jan. 1885.

Joseph G. Biggar, M.P. "I think Ireland may be able to produce another Hartmann, and probably with better results."—J. G. B., 21st March 1880. ["I think that a man should be a gentleman first and a patriot afterwards."—*The late G. BRYAN, M.P. (Home Ruler), 27th April 1875.*]

J. O'Kelly, M.P. "Should a war break out between England and any foreign Power, within three months every man in Ireland capable of holding a gun would be found fighting for the enemy against Great Britain."—21st Sept. 1885.

The "United Irishman" and England. "We have repeatedly stated our unalterable conviction that the English are a nation of scoundrels—the most unprincipled, dishonest, and rapacious of the human race. Their lower classes are BRUTES; their middle classes are SWINDLERS; their aristocracy are foul, loathsome, and DEGRADED BLACKGUARDS."

["More moderate men (than the Nationalists), when not under the influence of excitement, I never came across."
—HENRY LABOUCHERE, M.P., 4th Jan. 1886.]

Sir George O. Trevelyan, M.P. "I could quote, by the hundred, passages of extraordinary violence and impropriety which were spoken by leading members of the Land League during the recent troubles, passages which would prove, as I think, that they are UNFIT now to be entrusted with law and order."—2nd July 1886.

The Voice of England.

The Real England. "The real England is asleep: she will awake before long, and will then know what to do."—J. A. FROUDE, 15th March 1886.

The Civilised World. The G. O. Mohsman asserts that "the whole civilised world is with me" (10th July 1886). and on a previous occasion that "the civilised world cries with one voice that Ireland is our Poland." ["Sir George Otto" (as a Unionist) retorts: "Well, gentlemen, if the civilised world does say that, the civilised world knows very little about the matter."—G. O. T., 30th June 1886.]



THE VOICE OF ENGLAND.

"Shut up!"—

Romeo and Juliet Act. I. Sc. 2.

Class v. Mass.

Before the General Election, 1886.

The Grand Old Agitator endeavours to excite the masses against the upper ranks of society, and declares : "On the side adverse to the Government are found station, title, wealth, social influence, the professions—in a word, the spirit and power of class."—W. E. G., *1st May 1886.*

["Mr Gladstone having turned his own coat so suddenly, has no patience with Liberals who refuse to turn their coats at his bidding."—JOHN BRIGHT, *Letter, 30th May 1887.*]

After the General Election, 1886.

After his defeat at the Polls, the Grand Old Repealer turns upon his friends the masses, and says : "I am amazed at the deadness of *vulgar* opinion to the blackguardism and baseness which befoul the history of the Union."—W. E. G., *10th July 1886.*

The Tyranny of Dukes and Earls. The G. O. Robespierre telegraphs : "If Warwickshire does not wish Dukes and Earls to over-rule the Nation, and *wreck its future*, they will return the Liberal Candidate."—*7th July 1886.* [The only Earls at present engaged in the attempt to wreck the nation are the three *Separatists*, Earl Granville, Earl Spencer, and the Earl of Rosebery. There are no Dukes.]

"But oh ! ye Lords of Conneil intellectual !
Inform us truly, has he not hen-pecked you all ?"

England Awakes ! July 1886. The real England AWAKES, and dismisses the Separatist and Sham Patriotic Government by a solid majority of 106 VOTES. ["The people are refusing to identify Liberalism with Parnellism, and are refusing to give the name of 'a generous concession' to what is a policy of ABSOLUTE SURRENDER."—SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, *8th July 1886.*]

"Hark to the hurried question of despair !
Where are my Bills ?—an echo answers, 'Where ?'"

The Separatist Bills. "The Ministerial Bill is DEAD with the Parliament."—W. E. G., *18th June 1886.* ["The Bill is NOT REALLY DEAD ; it only sleepeth."—JOHN MORLEY, M.P., *18th June 1886.*] ["Our measures are dead, but they may be brought to LIFE again."—LORD ROSEBERY, *19th Oct. 1886.*]

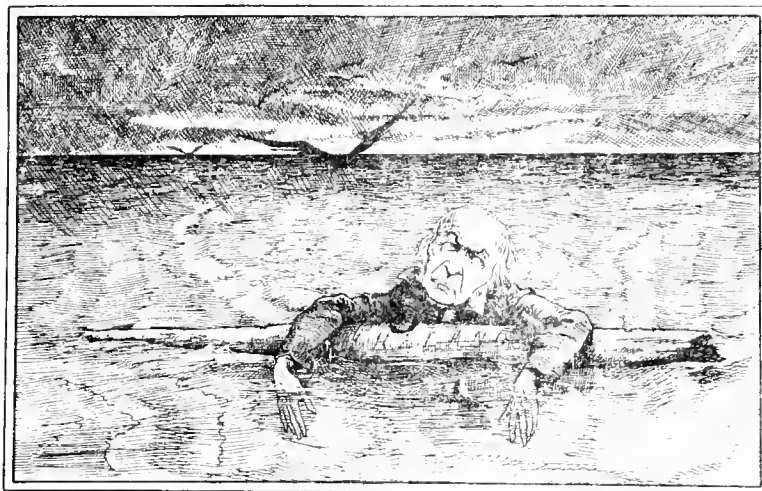
"Popping up again." The Grand Old Parnellite Hand acknowledges that he has made no concessions, and speaks of : "The Irish policy to which I have been, and still am, ABSOLUTELY and ENTIRELY committed."—W. E. G., *4th Oct. 1887.*

"Baby, Baby Bunting ! William's gone a-hunting,
To get a more-bamboozling skin to wrap his 'Home-Rule' bantling in !"

The Separatist Liberals. "In 1880, 354 Members followed Mr Gladstone, out of a House of 658 ; in 1885, 333 followed, out of a House of 670 ; and in 1886, 196 followed, out of a House of 670."—LORD ROSEBERY, *19th Oct. 1886.*

"So while his doctrines ripen day by day,
His frost-nipped party pines itself away."

God save Ireland!!!



HIS LAST PLANK.

FOURTEENTH THOUSAND.

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W. E. GLADSTONE. *15th January 1891.*

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BY THE AUTHOR OF
"THE IRISH GREEN BOOK," JOINT-COMPILER OF "THE GLADSTONE ALMANACK,"
&c., &c., &c.



"My future, I think, is a matter with regard to which I am not able—after what I consider my past is—to say much."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *28th March 1878.*

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"I was passing Hawarden Park ; I had a *terrible bilious* attack. My good wife said, 'Here is Mr Gladstone coming.' 'Where is he?' said I, and casting my eyes on the Grand Old Man in a moment my bilious attack LEFT me."—REV E. LLOYD JONES, of *Rhyl* (at *Warrington*, 1883).

Preface.

"You spend a great deal of ink about the character of the late Prime Minister. Grant all that you write—I say I fear that HE WILL RUIN IRELAND and pursue a line of policy destructive to the true interests of his country,—and then you tell me that he is faithful to Mrs Perceval and kind to the Master Percevals! I would prefer that HE WHIPPED HIS BOYS and saved his country."

SYDNEY SMITH.

"The time will shortly arrive when the Nation will have to decide between the party of Irish whisky and the party of political progress and social reform."—SIR W V. HARCOURT, 16th *June* 1885

THE COMING (?) GLADSTONE.

"You ought not to be fond of encouraging men to stay *too long* in your service."

W. E. GLADSTONE, 8th June 1889

The Grand Old Man.

The Coming (?) Majority. 1st APRIL 1891.—The Grand Old Manipulator, by a new process of Political Meteorology, discovers that he is about to have a majority of 157.

*If two and two make five, 'tis plain, by simple rule of three,
That next Election I'll obtain a big majority.*

[During *six* years, 1886-92, the Unionists have lost 22 seats. During *five* years, 1880-85, the Gladstonians lost 25 seats. N.B.—The Grand Old Meteorologist did *not* resign until he was defeated.]

The Eternal Gladstone.—Mr W. S. Caine (Gladstoman) declares that scores of Mr Gladstone's followers "are sick and weary of this eternal dinging of GLADSTONE! GLADSTONE! GLADSTONE! to the exclusion of all independence of thought and action."—W. S. CAINE, 30th June 1890. ["I do hope, whenever the people of this country begin to perceive that I am *singing flat*, they will convey that intimation to me."—W. E. G., 8th June 1889.]

Out of the Frying-Pan. Sir William Harcourt, the Political second-fiddle, and would-be successor to the G. O. M., prates about the Unionists "hoping that Mr Gladstone will die."—25th Sept. 1891.

Ah! surely not. The query pray excuse,
But who wants you in William Ewart's shoes?

Too Old. Bishop Wilberforce writes: "Gladstone much talking how little *real good* any Premier had done *after sixty*."—6th May 1873. [1868. The G. O. M. refused office to Lord John Russell. "*My only objection* to Earl Russell was his age—seventy-six years."—W. E. G.] [The Grand Old Separatist is eighty-two years, and says he "now weighs 172 lbs., of which 120 lbs. is water."—22nd Aug. 1889.]

His Pathos. The Grand Old Water-Butt reads an account of the IRISH UNION. "It was so pathetic that he could not proceed; he simply broke down and *sobbed like a child*."—DE PARKER, *New Review*, March 1891. [10th Jan. 1885. The G. O. M. hears of Gordon's murder and the massacre of Khar town; he does *not* pump up a sob, but goes to the Criterion Theatre.]

The Closing Years. The G. O. Manœuvrer resigns the Leadership of the Liberal Party because he has "personal views of the best method of spending the *closing years* of my life" (13th Jan. 1875). He further explains that "repose of mind and reflection on OTHER MATTERS are more appropriate to the latest stage of our human existence."—7th Oct. 1881. ["Like Cromwell, he is a PHARISEE, not a hypocrite."—*Irish World*, May 1886.] ["I am not about to assume the tone of the Pharisee on *this* occasion."—W. E. G., 5th April 1886.]



REVOLUTION.

Beware in time ! such giddy evolutions
May land old Statesmen into Revolutions

The "Other Matters." The G. O. M. spends his "closing years" in endeavouring to separate Ireland from Great Britain, and in writing an article on Pork. "The pig is an animal not to be mentioned on account of his dirty manners."—*22nd Aug. 1889.* He further "reflects" on Jam, on Astronomy, on "the insatiable capacity of the human stomach," and how to "grow eggs." "It is in everybody's power to rear poultry, and, *if I may say so*—FROM EGGS"!!—*9th Jan. 1884.*

Oh! William's words are full of sense, with ripe experience chock-a-block,

Who knows the ways of cocks and hens, like him—the Grand Old Weathercock?

Ireland Contented. He further "reflects" upon Ireland. "Those grievances of Ireland with which we have been historically too familiar have at length BEEN HAPPILY REMOVED."—*17th Sept. 1885.* ["The greatest and most unrivalled slanderer of the Irish race that ever undertook the task."—*PARNELL on GLADSTONE. 9th Oct. 1881.*]

Legal Agitation. Jealous of Mr Balfour's success in Ireland, the G. O. M. incites the lawbreakers. "The Irish ought to *hate the law.* I will not say that *even under these circumstances* they ought to break the law."—*21st Oct. 1890.*

"Still you keep o' the windy side of the law."—*Twelfth Night.*

The Irish Americans. The G. O. Republican throws a sop to the American-Irish. "The future of America is of greater importance to Christendom than that of ANY OTHER COUNTRY."—*W. E. G., North American Review, Dec. 1889.* [*19th Sept. 1890.*—He "regrets that he is disabled from crossing the Atlantic"—so do the law-abiding inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland.]

["Mr Gladstone's tendency is to *belittle England*, to dwell on the faults and defects of Englishmen, and to extol and magnify the virtues and graces of other nations."—*Life of Gladstone*, by G. W. E. RUSSELL (Gladstonian), 1891.]

"A steady patriot of the world alone.

A friend of every country but his own."—*Canning.*

The Constitutional Leader—Which (?)

The G. O. Home Ruler declares that Ireland has now reverted to constitutional methods, and adds—

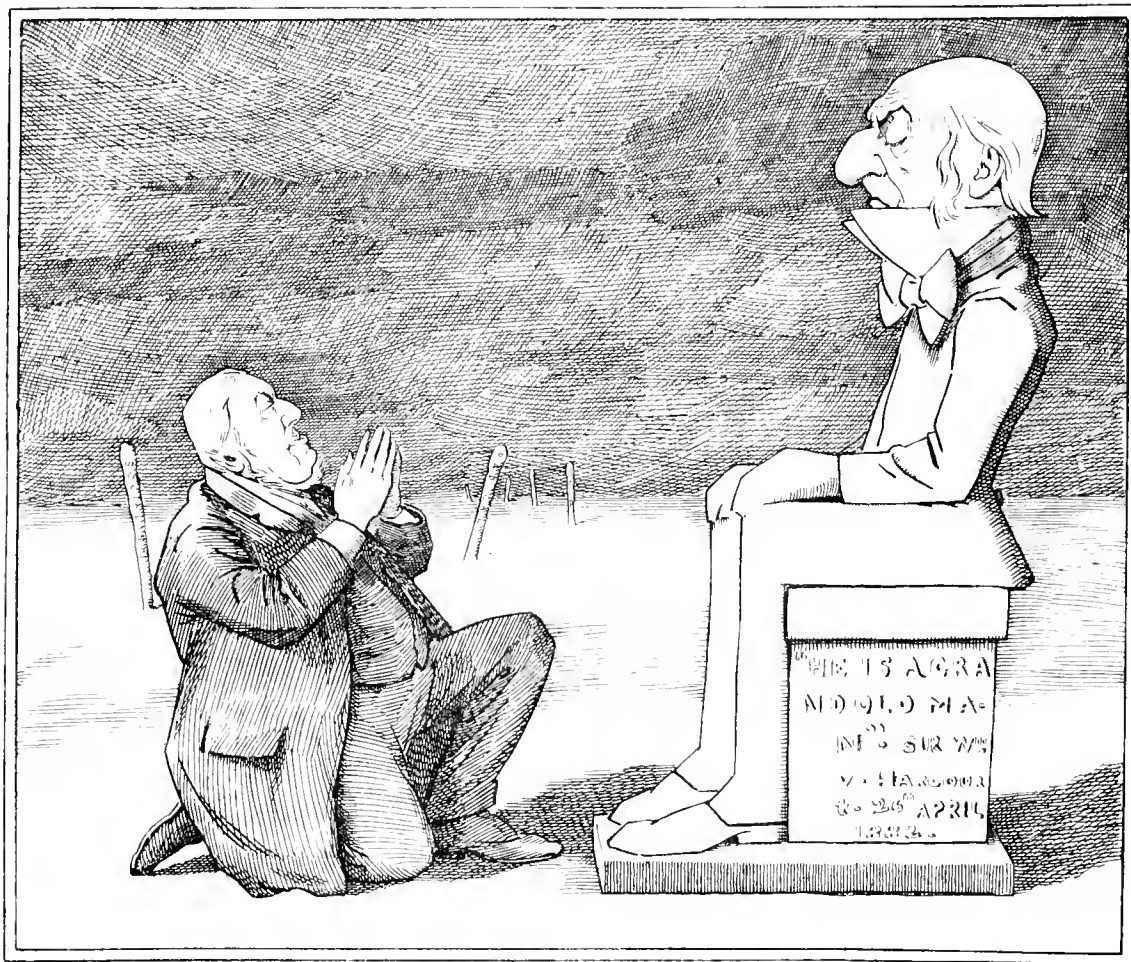
(BEFORE THE DIVORCE COURT.) "I am bound to say that I believe no small share of the credit is due to the individual action of Mr Parnell."—*Dalkeith, 25th Oct. 1890.*

(AFTER THE DIVORCE COURT.)—"I am bound to say, for it is beyond all question, that the attainment of that advantage was due almost entirely to one man—Daniel O'Connell."—*Hastings, 17th March 1891.*

["In theory, at least, and for others, I am a purist with respect to what touches the consistency of statesmen."—*W. E. G., Chapter of Autobiography, page 10.*]

His Reputation. "Gladstone's reputation in politics is, I believe, a *false reputation*, and based upon a most extraordinary gift of skilful misrepresentation of fact."—*JOHN DILLON, M.P., 11th Nov. 1881.*

"'Twould save whole hay-cart-loads o' fuss and three four months o' jaw,
If some illustrious paypatriot would back out and withdraw."—*Byglow.*



THE POLICY OF SILENCE

When dastard Tories loudly cry for William's Home Rule Plan,
I only "wink the other eye" and trust the Grand Old Man

The Coming Gladstonians.

Not Liberals. "I do not object to being called a GLADSTONIAN instead of a Liberal."—JOHN MORLEY, M.P., *9th Dec.* 1891. ["One becomes acquainted in the course of life with gentlemen who find themselves under the necessity of changing their names."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, *26th April* 1889.]

The G. O. M.'s Lieutenants. "Mere clerks, who have in former times been pitchforked into high office by a whim of Mr Gladstone's."—H. LABOUCHERE, M.P., *Forum*, *Jan.* 1890. ["We have no opinions, no will, no existence of our own; we have to do as we are bid."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, *20th Jan.* 1880.]

The Gladstonians. "It is a veritable Ephesian mob that is gathered under Mr Gladstone's leadership. They know not why they are gathered save to cry 'Hurrah for the Grand Old Man.'"—*Pall Mall Gazette* (Gladstonian), *25th April* 1890.

"If aught is plain, in short 'tis this, that there are moments when
The question not of *measures* is,—the question is of *men*."

His Guiding Star. "If I have deserved approbation it is for *one thing* only—my CONSTANT adherence to the old leader—my guiding star in politics."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, *June* 1891. [Sir William Harcourt, who perhaps because *he hates* Mr Gladstone, is always gushing in his public conduct towards him."—T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., *Gladstone's House of Commons*.]

The Cuttle-Fish. 31st Aug. 1874.—G. O. M. violently attacked by Harcourt. "It seems difficult to understand how the Ex-Premier can hold any further communication with the Ex-Solicitor General" (Sir W. V. H.)—H. W. LUCY, *Diary of Two Parliaments*. ["He (Harcourt) has indulged in another practice against which I think the House cannot too severely protest. It is, that whenever any one is opposed to you, you should *fix upon him a bad name*."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *5th Aug.* 1874.]

Sir William, like the cuttle-fish—when party-passion stirs his blood;

Has only one defence:—His wish to smirch his foe by squirting mud.

["Sir William is now boiling away at a temperature of over 212° in his own Parnellite juice, and is prepared to *say everything and do anything* to get back to the Treasury bench."]

Morley on Harcourt. "He (Fox) thought that the only way of governing Ireland was to please Ireland. Can we imagine SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT talking this way?"—JOHN MORLEY, *Fortnightly Review*, *July* 1881.

HARCOURT v. HARCOURT.

"No party and no leader could ever propose, nor hope to carry any scheme of Home Rule which had not *the cordial concurrence and support* of the Irish nation."—HARCOURT, *2nd Dec.* 1890.

["I am not one of those who believe in the leopard changing his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, *9th Jan.* 1877.]

"You heat your pate and fancy wit will come,

Knock as you please, there's nobody at home."—*Pope*.

"Honest John." "I admit that I have not always judged rightly of Irish affairs within the past eight years."—JOHN MORLEY, *2nd Feb.* 1888. ["We despise and distrust Mr Morley because he is a HUMBUG"—*Labour Elector* (the organ of the Labour Party), *Dec.* 1889.]

An honest man they say, with brains to spare.

Who has no God—except his friend Voltaire.



THE COMING GLADSTONIANS.

"It has become the cardinal principle of that party: the Radical, never voluntarily to surrender office."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *Jan.* 1857.

Remember Belfast. June 1886.—Riot at Belfast. G. O. M. Prime Minister; seven persons killed by Morley's bloodhounds; John Morley, Secretary for Ireland. ["Sir, I was brought up in a surgery. The sight of broken heads has no alarm for me" *[except at Mitchelstown and Tipperary.]*—JOHN MORLEY, 16th Feb. 1891.]

Sir George Chameleon. "The meanest, poorest, spitefullest creature who ever held sway in Ireland."—W. O'BRIEN, M.P., on SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN, 24th Oct. 1885. ["Sooner than support Home Rule in any form, he would go back to private life and lead the life of an English gentleman. Alas! six months of the life of an English gentleman were enough for Sir George Trevelyan."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., 2nd Oct. 1889.]

"Oh! might not reason e'en to thee have shown,

Thy greatest praise had been to live unknown."—Churchill.

The Sub-Gladstonians.

Gladstonian Hangers-On. "The Anti-Parnellites—I ought really to call them the SUB-GLADSTONIANS, because it is perfectly evident that they have become a mere wing of the Gladstonian Party—hangers-on and whippers-up."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., 29th April 1892. [The Anti-Parnellites—"ANGLICISED RADICAL POT-BOYS."—*Parnellite Handbill*, 5th Feb. 1892.]

Tempted Again! "Look at the number of times the Irish people have been betrayed by their own leaders, who were unable to withstand the temptations of office and money." T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., 5th April 1892. ["Out of 21 men arrested for the Phoenix Park murders, 19 offered to betray their comrades."]

William O'Brien, M.P. "In 1883 he was for Ireland, and brought infamous accusations against Lord Spencer. In 1887 and 1890 he is for England, and is willing to blacken Lord Spencer's boots."—C. S. PARNELL, 27th Sept. 1891. ["Who suggested the abominable cartoons (in *United Ireland*, edited by WILLIAM O'BRIEN)—cartoons suggestive of crimes of which thousands happily had no idea?"—REV. CANON DOYLE (Nationalist), 14th Nov. 1891.]

"How well my garments sit upon me."—*Tempest*.

["Mr O'Brien is a political dude; he gyrates too much; he is too hysterical and sensational."—PATRICK FORD in *Irish World*, 3rd Jan. 1891.]

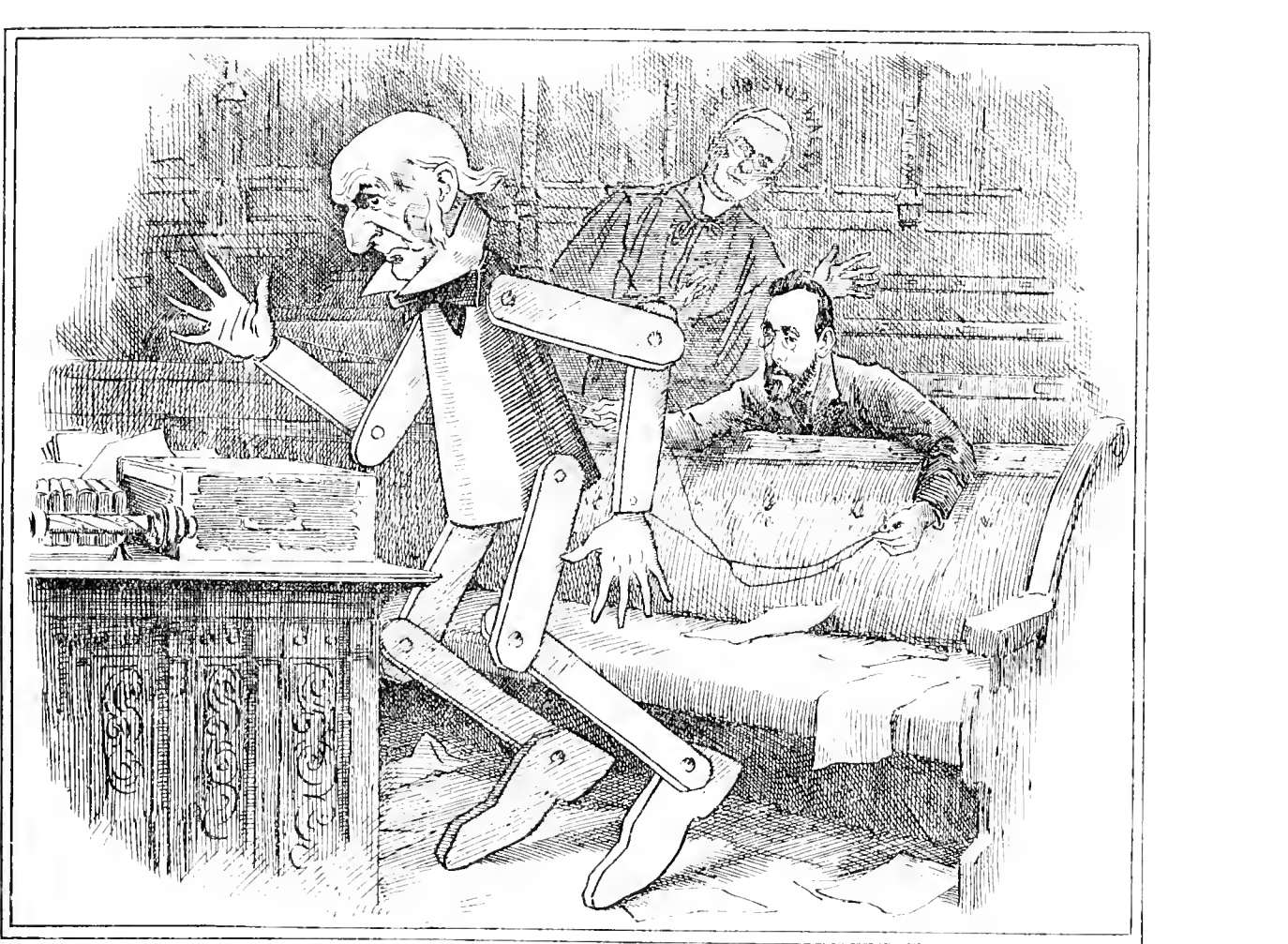
John Dillon, M.P. "He (Mr Dillon) comes here as the apostle of a *creed of force*, which is a creed of oppression, which is a creed of the destruction of all liberty."—GLADSTONE on DILLON, 24th May 1882. [Mr Dillon has become a supporter of the G. O. M.; he is now "that undoubted Patriot," and the Grand Old Apostle of "a creed of force" finds "in the snow of to-day an apt emblem of the purity of our cause."—W. E. G.—*A few minutes later the Grand Old Apostle is snow-balled by the roughs of Dover*, 27th Dec. 1887.]

"A little touch of Party paint
Makes a villain look a saint."

["Charges of the nature he (Mr Gladstone) made against the Parnellites were such as *time did not purge*."—SIR GEO. O. TREVELYAN, 6th July 1886.]

Tim M. Healy, M.P. "The declaration I shall have most reason to look back to with satisfaction in my life was the declaration *I felt able to make* FOR MR PARNELL in the Leinster Hall."—T. M. HEALY, 1st Dec. 1890. [Michael Davitt characterises Healy's attack on Mrs Parnell as "filthy and infamous," and says that "her sex alone, apart from the protecting shield of her *dead husband's name*, should save her from insult."—26th Dec. 1891.]

Ah! Tim, we know why thus you rated him,
He made you—so, of course, you hated him.



COERCION

He can talk by the yard, he can plot and can plan,
And Home Rule hymns can sing ;

But where is the good of this Grand Old Man
If it's Healy that pulls the string ?

Thomas Sexton, M.P. "Huge vanity, his absolute duplicity in dealing with public affairs, his peevishness and want of attractiveness."—DR KENNY, *9th Feb.* 1892. ["He knew how bitterly Tom Sexton and Tim Healy loved each other. They were together not for love of one another, but for hate of Charles S. Parnell."—JOHN O'CONNOR, M.P., *16th Dec.* 1890.]

Michael Davitt. "He had never concealed his opinion in favour of a resort to physical force, provided there was *a chance of success*."—M. DAVITT, *3rd July* 1889. [16th Dec. 1890. Resort to Physical Force. This chosen leader of the Irish people is mobbed and beaten by his followers. "To-day I have been many times struck by my own countrymen."—MICHAEL DAVITT at KILKENNY.] "Patriots are grown too shrewd to be sincere, and we too wise to trust them."—*Courper.*

The Newcastle Programme.

Ireland Blocks the Way. The G. O. Separatist declares that he can do nothing until Ireland is handed over to the Parnellite and Anti-Parnellite Kilkenny cats. "IRELAND BLOCKS THE WAY of every other question and every other interest."—W. E. G., *21st Oct.* 1890. ["I am not an admirer of Programmes; it is not a British word, and it is not a British thing."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, *25th Sept.* 1891.]

The Confidence Trick. *2nd Oct.* 1891, a year later—Ireland still blocking the way—the G. O. M. swallows a SHAM PROGRAMME ("that bag of tricks; that inexhaustible hat") as a bait to catch votes for Irish Home Rule. ["It is a Programme which begins by offering everything to everybody, and it will end by giving nothing to anybody."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., *13th Oct.* 1891.]

That the tail should follow—not lead—the head, is a doctrine old and stale.
So away from the head old G. has fled to catch up his Radical tail.

The Socialistic Programme. John Morley confesses. "When they looked through the articles advocated by JOHN BURNS, they found only *one article*—an Eight Hours Bill—which had not been accepted by the front Opposition bench."—*30th Oct.* 1890. ["They mean not only to change everything on earth, but to alter the tides, to suspend the principle of gravitation, and to tear down the solar system."—SYDNEY SMITH.]

HARCOURT v. MORLEY.

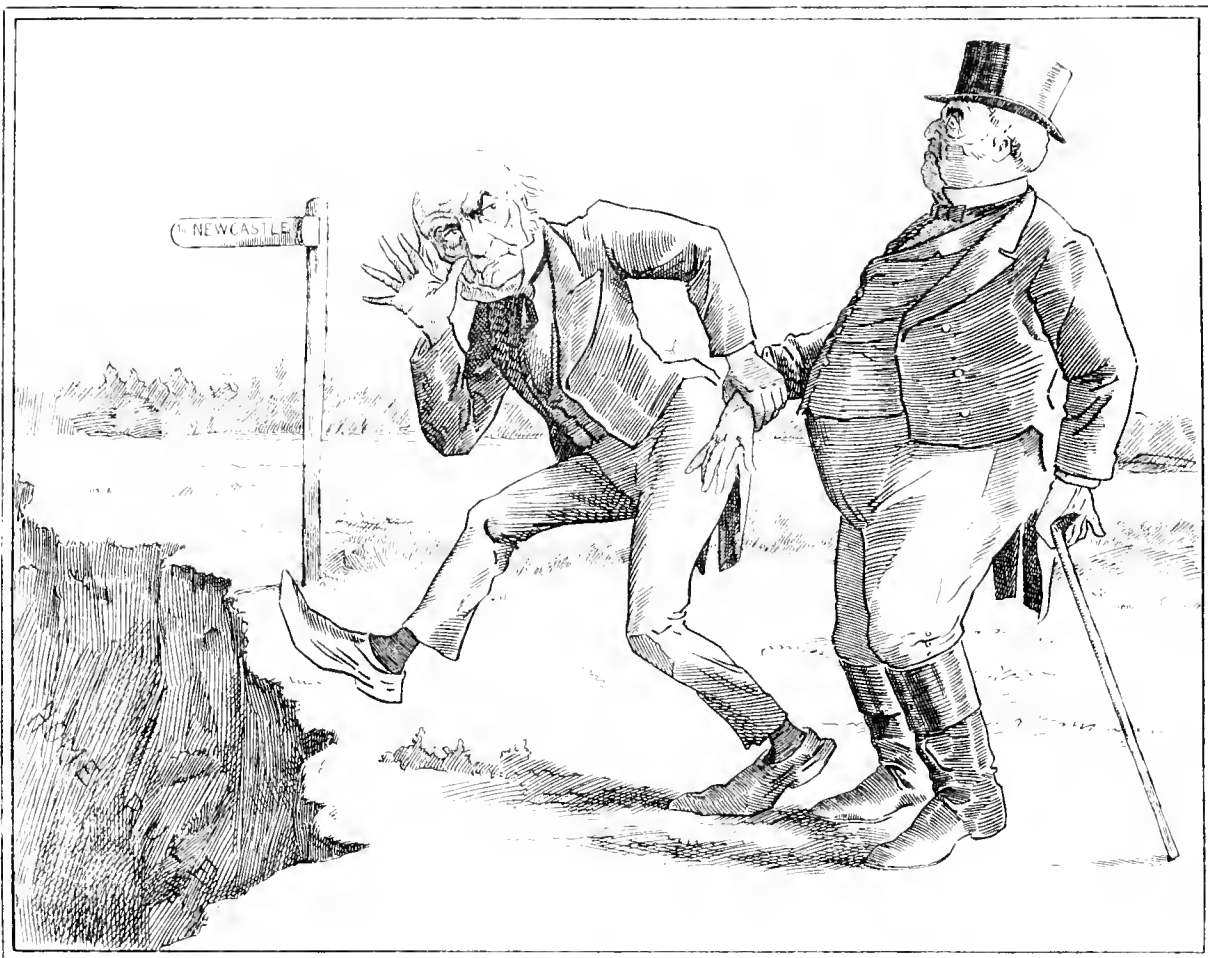
"A silly attempt to employ the Irish question to shut out *these great matters* is a stupidity hardly worthy of notice."—SIR W. HARCOURT, *2nd Dec.* 1891.

"Parliament would never be able to tackle *these great tasks* until they had left Irishmen free to do their own business."—JOHN MORLEY, *30th March* 1892.

["We cannot get at ANY OTHER QUESTION until the Irish question is out of the way."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *21st Oct.* 1890.]

The Whole Ticket. The G. O. Manager promises SHORT PARLIAMENTS. "One Man One Vote," and a comprehensive Policy of Plunder in exchange for the Repeal of the Union! [The G. O. M. previously wished to know whether England was to hurry on "through the medium of the Ballot and SHORT PARLIAMENTS and other questions called popular into REPUBLICANISM and ANARCHY!" *Newark Address.*]

"He can talk by the mile, he can plot and can plan, and Home Rule hymns can sing;
But where is the good of this Green Old Man if it's Healy that pulls the string?"



THE NEWCASTLE PROGRAMME.

"'Twas not to this end that thou beganst so fine a story."

Much Ado About Nothing.

The Coming Bill.

The Old Bill Again. "To propose any measure, *except on the lines already laid down*, would be fatuity as regards myself, and treachery to the Irish nation."—W. E. GLADSTONE, 29th Nov. 1890. ["You all admit that you will NOT have this Bill—(loud cheers)—there has not been a man to say a word in favour of this Bill."—C. S. PARNELL (at meeting of Irish Party), 1st Dec. 1890.]

The Gladstonian Allies. "They *dare not offend* the men upon whose votes they count at the next Election or in the next Parliament."—SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, 28th Sept. 1885. [William O'Brien threatens: "If betrayal *should* occur, then for myself I say, there is *no course too extreme* for me."—30th July 1891.] ["No man who has so much trouble with his breeches can be a great man."—PATRICK FORD, 3rd Jan. 1891.]

His Own Side. "The Leaders of the Liberal Party would be acting wisely and justly if they were to take the country a little more into their confidence."—H. H. ASQUITH, M.P. (Gladstonian), 6th Jan. 1890. [The Grand Old Mandarin answers: "When you have got nothing to say, the best thing is to say nothing."—W. E. G., 21st Aug. 1890.]

The reasons why I don't produce my Home Rule Scheme are many.
But this is my *most real excuse*—because I haven't any!

The Old Gentleman. "Now I know this old gentleman well; I have never yet succeeded in getting a straight answer to a single straight question from him."—*The late* C. S. PARNELL, 4th Dec. 1890. ["The word of the Hon. Member for Cork (Mr Parnell) is as good as that of any member of the House."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, 22nd March 1889.]

Gas and Water. ROSSENDALE ELECTION, Jan. 1892.—Home Rule whittled down to "the control of GAS, WATER, and ELECTRICITY."—(JOHN MORLEY prophesies: "You will have those who are for the autonomy of gas and sewage—(laughter)—who wish to give Ireland something which *she does not want*, and which her leaders will never consent to work."—8th June 1886.)

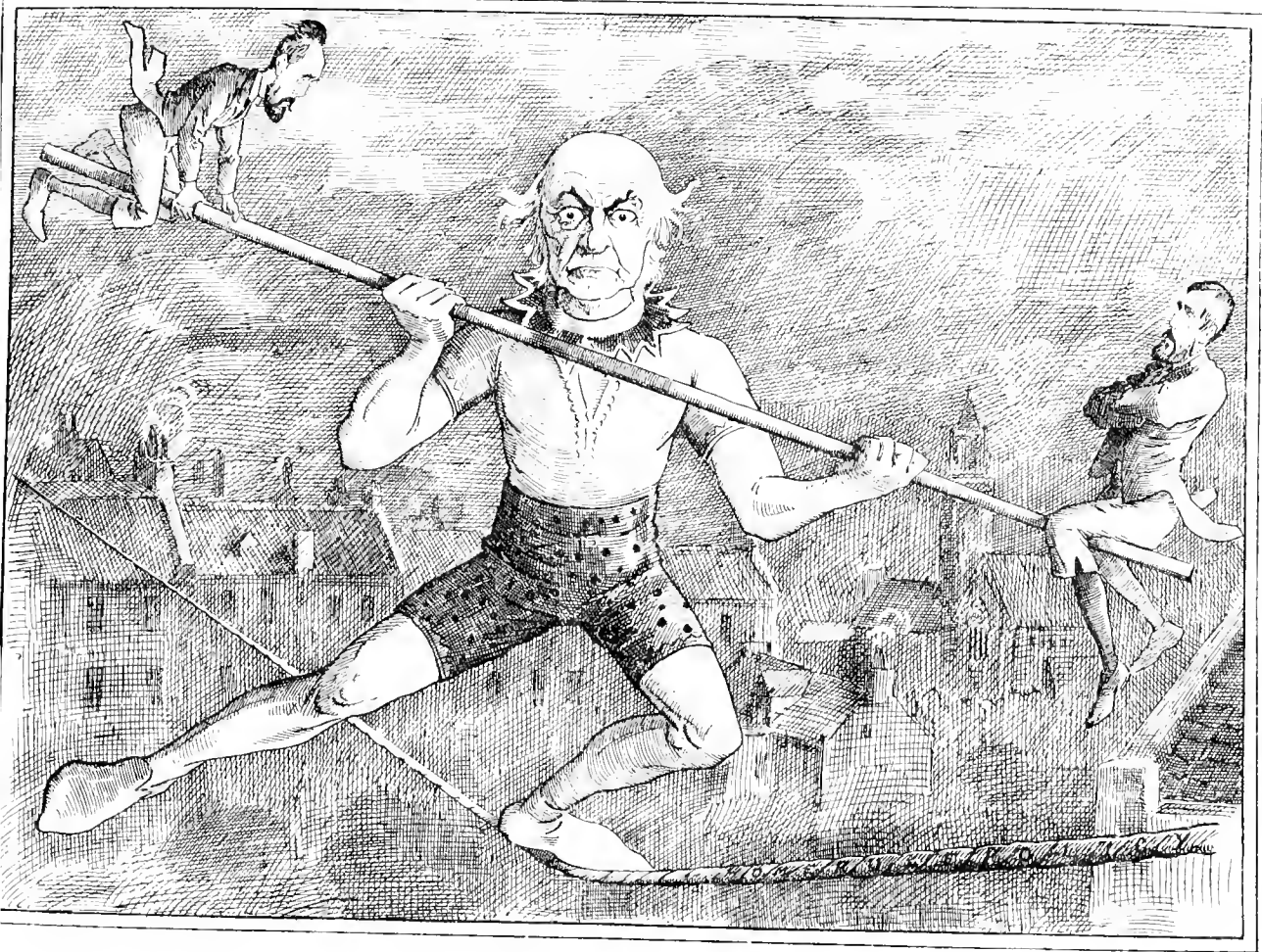
Not Enough. Tim Healy says that "the Bill outlined in Mr Parnell's Manifesto is not one the Irish people could accept; (loud cheers). I cordially join in that sentiment. I pledge myself to accept no such measure."—1st Dec. 1890

For the Time Being. "We consider it prudent and patriotic to trust for **THE TIME BEING** to the pledge of the Grand Old Man."—*Mitchelstown Resolution*, DILLON and O'BRIEN present; 22nd Nov. 1891. [Jan. 1890.—A French newspaper elaborately explains that the "GRAND OLD MAN" and the "GRAND OLD GENTLEMAN" are NOT identical!]

Parnell's Plan.

"Parnell-Fenian-Home-Rule." Mr Parnell declared that an Irish Parliament must be "free from *all outside interference*, FREE FROM ANY ENGLISH OR IMPERIAL VETO; FREE FROM THE CONTROL OF ANY ENGLISHMAN OR MINISTER."—1st Feb. 1891. [{"I consider Mr Parnell and his friends to be, in the best sense, the Conservative and Restorative force."—W. E. G., 19th July 1889.}]

Sir W. Harcourt's Opinion. "If such a policy (as Mr Parnell's) be adopted and ratified by the Irish people, then Home Rule has NO CHANCE, and ought to HAVE NO CHANCE."—SIR W. HARCOURT, 15th Jan. 1891. [T. P. O'CONNOR (Anti-Parnellite) ratifies Mr Parnell's policy and says, "There was not a *single principle* held by the Parnellites to which he and every other Nationalist did not subscribe."—5th April 1892.]



THE BALANCE OF POWER.

"Let me suppose that the Liberal Party might be returned in a minority, which might become a majority *by aid of the Irish vote*. Now, gentlemen, I tell you, **SERIOUSLY AND SOLEMNLY**, that *it would not be safe* for it to enter into the consideration of a measure in respect of which it would be in the power of the party coming from Ireland to say: 'unless you do this and unless you do that, we **WILL TURN YOU OUT TO-MORROW!**'"—W. E. GLADSTONE, 9th Nov, 1885

Tim M. Healy, M.P. Tim Healy also "ratifies" Mr Parnell's policy and says "*with much emotion*," if Mr Parnell will retire for a time "His (Tim's) voice would be the first, at the *very earliest moment possible*, to call him back to his proper place as leader of the Irish race."—T. M. H., *3rd Dec.* 1890.

Exit Harcourt. John E. Redmond, M.P.,—with the assent of Messrs O'Brien, Dillon, and Healy—asks Sir W. Harcourt what he means by "PARNELL-FENIAN-HOME-RULE": "did he mean that they (the Gladstonians) would not accept such a scheme as Mr Parnell had propounded and such as *no Irish Politician dared repudiate*?"—*15th Feb.* 1892. [Collapse of "the Coming Gladstone." "Sir William Harcourt rather than give an answer slunk out of the House."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., *30th March* 1892.]

His cup of "JUICE" drained to the dregs he has no word to say.

He puts his tail between his legs, and sneaks, subdued, away.

Fenian-Home-Rule. "I have never hesitated to express my admiration for the men of '67 (the FENIANS), and I declare that our movement *is the legitimate successor of that Movement*."—J. DILLON, M.P., *8th Dec.* 1885. ["My friend Mr John Dillon."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, *27th Feb.* 1889.]

Asking for More.

Greedy Tim. The Leader of the Tim-Healyites declares: "One tittle *less* than was accepted in 1886 from Mr Gladstone we will not accept—(cheers)—and we will take as MUCH MORE AS WE CAN GET."—T. M. HEALY, M.P., *29th Dec.* 1891. [Mr Healy—"the Champion Venom Squirter."—COLONEL SAUNDERSON, M.P.]

Wears Friendship's mask for purpose of attack.

Fawns in your face, and stabs you in the back.

The "Gas and Water" Plan. "The Irish needn't be offered Councils or Legislative Assemblies, for we will kick his (Mr Gladstone's) Councils or Legislative Assemblies into Dublin Bay."—*United Ireland*, *30th Jan.* 1892. ["I am now glad to have everything imparted to me in a form that makes a minimum demand upon a diminishing stock of brain power."—G. O. M., *16th Sept.* 1890.]

Michael Davitt. "They had surrendered too EASILY to Mr Gladstone *for the kind of Home Rule* to which they would be asked to agree."—M. DAVITT, *2nd Sept.* 1888. ["I will not be a party to giving them (the Irish) uncontrolled care of law and order."—SIR G. O. TREVELYAN, *30th June* 1886.]

"Still violent, whate'er cause he undertook,

But most against the party he forsook."

T. D. Sullivan, M.P. "They had established a right to a larger and wider scheme of Home Rule for Ireland than was originally proposed by Mr Gladstone."—T. D. SULLIVAN, *16th Sept.* 1888. [Mr Sullivan is the poet who wrote—

"Stupid little England thinks to say us nay,

But paltry little England will never stop our way."

After writing this doggerel Mr Sullivan spoke of Mr Gladstone as "that illustrious and beloved statesman." (*29th Dec.* 1890): he is therefore asked to lunch at Hawarden, and to dine at Dollis Hill with Mr Gladstone and Lord Aberdeen.]

The Limit. "The sons of Ireland, and they alone, have the right to rule the destinies of Ireland, and I am prepared to maintain that MORE THAN THAT NO IRISH REBEL LEADER in the past asked."—J. E. REDMOND, M.P., *23rd April* 1889. [Mr T. P. O'Connor (Anti-Parnellite) says that Mr Redmond's principles are "accepted with equal fervour and conviction by every Nationalist in the world."—*5th April* 1892.]



"IRELAND BLOCKS THE WAY."

That "Ireland blocks the way" is his incessant hymn,
It isn't Ireland in the way, its only Papal Tim.

No Imperial Control.

What the Union Is. "The essence of the Union lies in this, that the right of supreme Government RESIDES AT WESTMINSTER."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *Subjects of the Day*, Nov. 1890. ["We will have NO ENGLISH VETO."—C. S. PARSELL, 25th Jan. 1891.] ["Conciliation in plain language means SEPARATION."—JOHN MORLEY, *Fortnightly*, July 1881.]

His Opinion Then. "The Imperial Parliament must be supreme in these three kingdoms, and nothing that creates a DOUBT UPON THAT SUPREMACY can be tolerated by any intelligent or patriotic mind."—W. E. GLADSTONE, 26th Nov. 1879. [Mr T. P. O'Connor, M.P., says, as regards the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over an Irish Parliament, "any such proposal ought to be, and would be INDIGNANTLY REJECTED by every Irish Nationalist in the world."—T. P. O'C., 5th April 1892.]

His Opinion Now. The G. O. Spider prepares for surrender and writes contemptuously of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and says when Ireland had a Parliament *without Imperial Veto* she "gave to Great Britain less trouble than she now gives in a single year."—W. E. G., *Subjects of the Day*, Nov. 1890. ["All my argument leads up to the nebular or *rotatory hypothesis*."—G. O. M., *Nineteenth Century*, Jan. 1886.]

"He could distinguish and divide

A hair, 'twixt south and south-west side." *Hudibras*.

Free as Air. William O'Brien declares: "We are all united in demanding that the Irish Parliament shall be as free from outside meddling as the Parliaments of Australia and Canada—that is to say, AS FREE AS AIR."—29th Jan. 1892. ["There is one great and essential difference between Ireland and our Colonies, and it is this—THE COLONIES ARE LOYAL, and Ireland, I greatly fear, *is not*."—LORD ROSFERRY, 15th Oct. 1885.]

The Half-Way House. "If we don't get the management of our own affairs, FREE FROM OUTSIDE CONTROL, Home Rule is not worth our taking."—EDWARD HARRINGTON, M.P., 1st Jan. 1891. [Sir George Otto Chameleon answers by anticipation, "There is no half-way house between *entire separation* and *absolute Imperial control*."—G. O. T., 30th Dec. 1885.]

No half-way house to stay his weary feet,

He could not rest—until he got a Seat.

Independence. "The people were determined they should have the right in Ireland to make their own laws in a Parliament *free from outside control*."—W. ABRAHAM, M.P., 7th Feb. 1832. [John Morley says if you don't satisfy the Irish Leaders, Ireland must be reduced "to the condition of a Crown Colony and governed with an IRON HAND."—21st April 1886.]

Irish Members at Westminster.

Kicked Out. G. O. M. "I NEVER will be a party to *any plan* which gives to the Irish people a separate Parliament and also give them a VOICE IN BRITISH AFFAIRS AT HOME."—W. E. G., 24th June 1886. [This is the same G. O. M. who now proposes to allow Irishmen to meddle in BRITISH AFFAIRS AT Westminster, but refuses to give to Englishmen or Scotchmen a voice in IRISH AFFAIRS.]

"We haven't settled what we'll do, we'll tell you when we win;

At present all *you're* got to do, is just to put us in."



THE MELTING POT.

All else "reformed" for change still hot.
The Constitution then must "go to Pot."

A Filthy Gang. Honest John says if you keep Irish members in the House of Commons "you will have *demoralised* the Legislature at Westminster."—JOHN MORLEY, 21st April 1886. ["Ireland has been disgraced even in London by a *filthy gang* of Irish blackguards."—*The Rev. CANON DOYLE*, P.P. (Nationalist), 10th Oct. 1891.]

The Irish Members. "The Irish members would not only be absolute masters of their own Parliament in Dublin, but they would be masters at Westminster as well."—SIR GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, 18th Dec. 1885. [Ireland has 20 representatives per million of population. England has 17.]

Separation.

Closer Union! The G. O. Separatist says that since 1885 Ireland "has limited its definition of Home Rule in such a way as to satisfy every REASONABLE man that what Ireland contemplated was *permanent and closer union* with this country."—W. E. GLADSTONE, 21st Oct. 1890. ["We assert to-day what we asserted in 1885 and the years before it, that no man has a right to fix the boundary of a NATION."—C. S. PARNELL, 13th Sept. 1891.]

"I am afraid I am too old to learn."—W. E. GLADSTONE, 7th June 1886.

Michael Davitt. "I am in favour on principle of TOTAL SEPARATION; so are tens of thousands of the Irish race."—MICHAEL DAVITT, 3rd July 1889. ["If we have not a *common Imperial Parliament*, I conceive that the virtual SEPARATION of the two countries would ensue."—SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN, Letter in *Times*, 10th June 1887.]

Not a Briton. "He had not been saying that they all wanted to be part and parcel of the British Empire with the lie upon the top of his tongue."—JOHN DEASY, M.P. (Anti-Parnellite), 27th Jan. 1891. [Lord Rosebery declares that alliance with the Irish Nationalists "not merely struck a mortal stab at political principles, but involves a *danger* to the Empire itself."—15th Oct. 1885.]

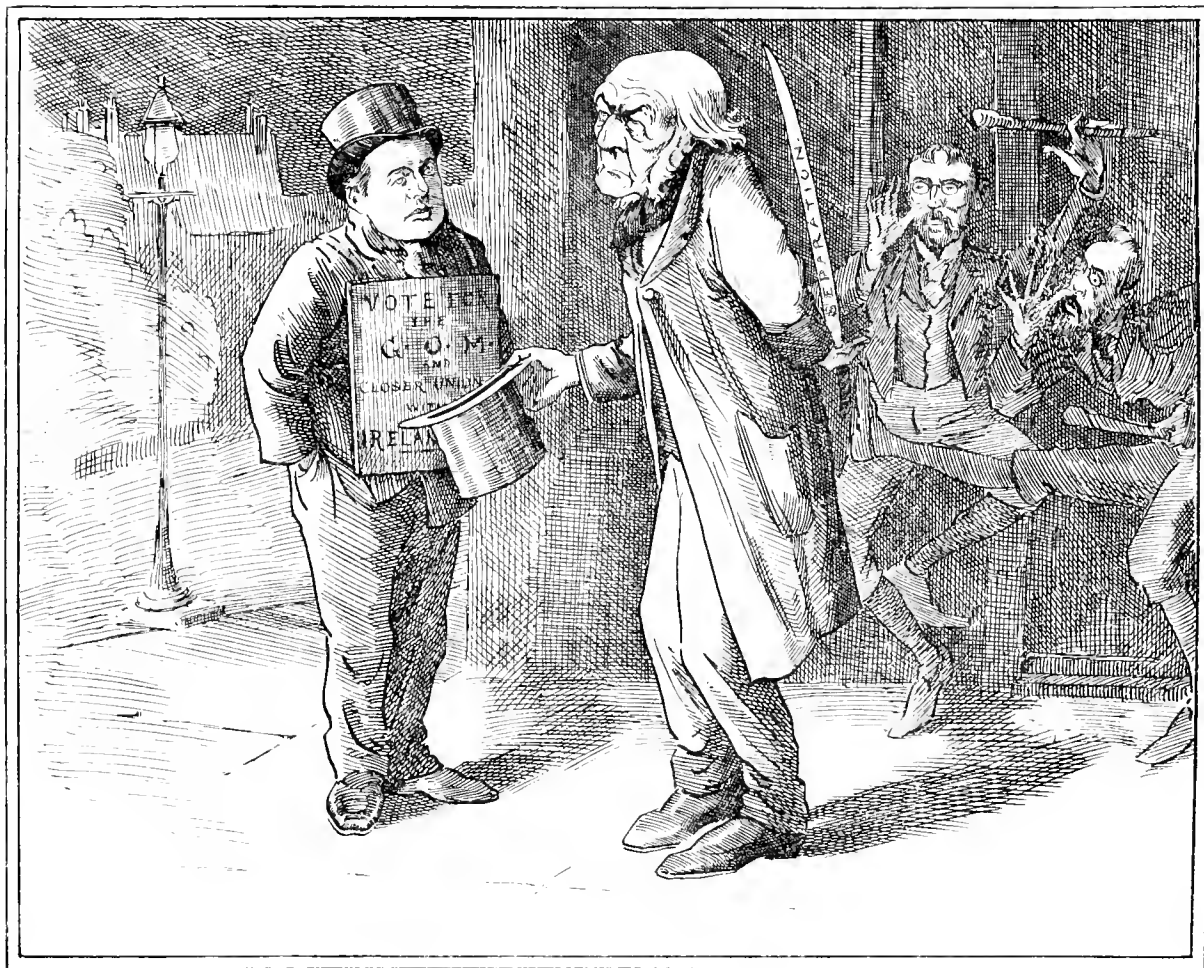
The Reason Why. The G. O. M. says that the attitude of the British people has made the Irish "generally to trust to Parliamentary methods and constitutional proceedings."—21st Oct. 1890. ["Having neither armies nor fleets, we are bound to rely upon Parliamentary and constitutional methods."—T. M. HEALY, M.P., 1st Dec. 1890.] ["My friend Mr Healy."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, 9th July 1890.]

So long as Harcourt finds us wit, and Healy foul abuse,
We have, if you consider it, for principles no use.

John Dillon. "I deny utterly that I have ever in the course of my life lowered the flag of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, and I never shall."—JOHN DILLON, M.P., 25th Oct. 1891. ["We have refused to hand over the cause of peace and prosperity in Ireland to those who, since that refusal of ours, have so amply justified our action."—SIR G. O. TREVELYAN, 7th Sept. 1886.]

"Get place and pow'r, if possible with grace,
If not, by any means get pow'r and place."—*Pope*.

Tear off the Mask. "Let us tear the mask off this hypocrisy, and let the House and the country understand what is the character of THE CONSPIRACY they have to face."—SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT on the Irish Nationalists, 3rd May 1881. ["That there is a section of Irishmen who desire SEPARATION is notorious."—JOHN MORLEY, *Handbook of Home Rule*, Oct. 1887.]



SEPARATION.

"The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart

Rome Rule.

A Cunning Plot. The Grand Old Pope, after retirement, attacks the Roman Catholics. "No more cunning plot was ever devised against the FREEDOM, the HAPPINESS, and the VIRTUE of mankind than Romanism."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *Church and State*, 1875. ["If he (the G. O. M.) had had the remotest idea of entering the political field anew, he would never have thus gratuitously assailed the religious belief of the Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen."—JUSTIN MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Time*.]

True judgment now with him alone can dwell :
Like Pope at Rome, he's grown infallible.

A Still More Cunning Plot. 4th Feb. 1891. The G. O. M. introduces his "Sir Charles Russell Relief Bill," in which he proposes to hand over the ecclesiastical patronage of the Church of England to a Roman Catholic.

The Enemy of Democracy. "She (the Roman Catholic Church) has taken her stand in ignorance, and is striving with might and main to keep down education. She is the BITTEREST ENEMY OF DEMOCRACY."—J. MORLEY. [The Archbishop of Armagh complains bitterly that "the doctrines of the present day" are calculated "to let the people use their own judgment."—7th April 1891.] ["What is it that has made the clergy from generation to generation the opponents of all Reform?"—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, 23rd Feb. 1892.]

Buying the Priests. "No body of clergymen in Great Britain would venture to put forward such claims as some of the Roman Catholic Bishops have recently advanced in Ireland."—*Freeman's Journal*, 16th April 1891. [31st March 1892. *The Freeman's Journal* repents, and has to pay £36,000 for "the good-will of the Priests of Ireland."—E. DWYER GRAY, Late Proprietor and Editor.]

A Political Caucus. At the Kilkenny Election, "in almost every parish in the Constituency THE HOLY SACRAMENT OF MASS was adapted to purposes of Political organisation."—London *Star* (Gladstonian), 2nd Dec. 1890. ["In Ireland the line between religion and politics is by no means easy to draw."—ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, 18th Dec. 1885.] [Archbishop Walsh is now the chief Proprietor and Dictator of the *Freeman's Journal*.]

["If the world were a chess-board, he would be an important politician."—*Sydney Smith*.]

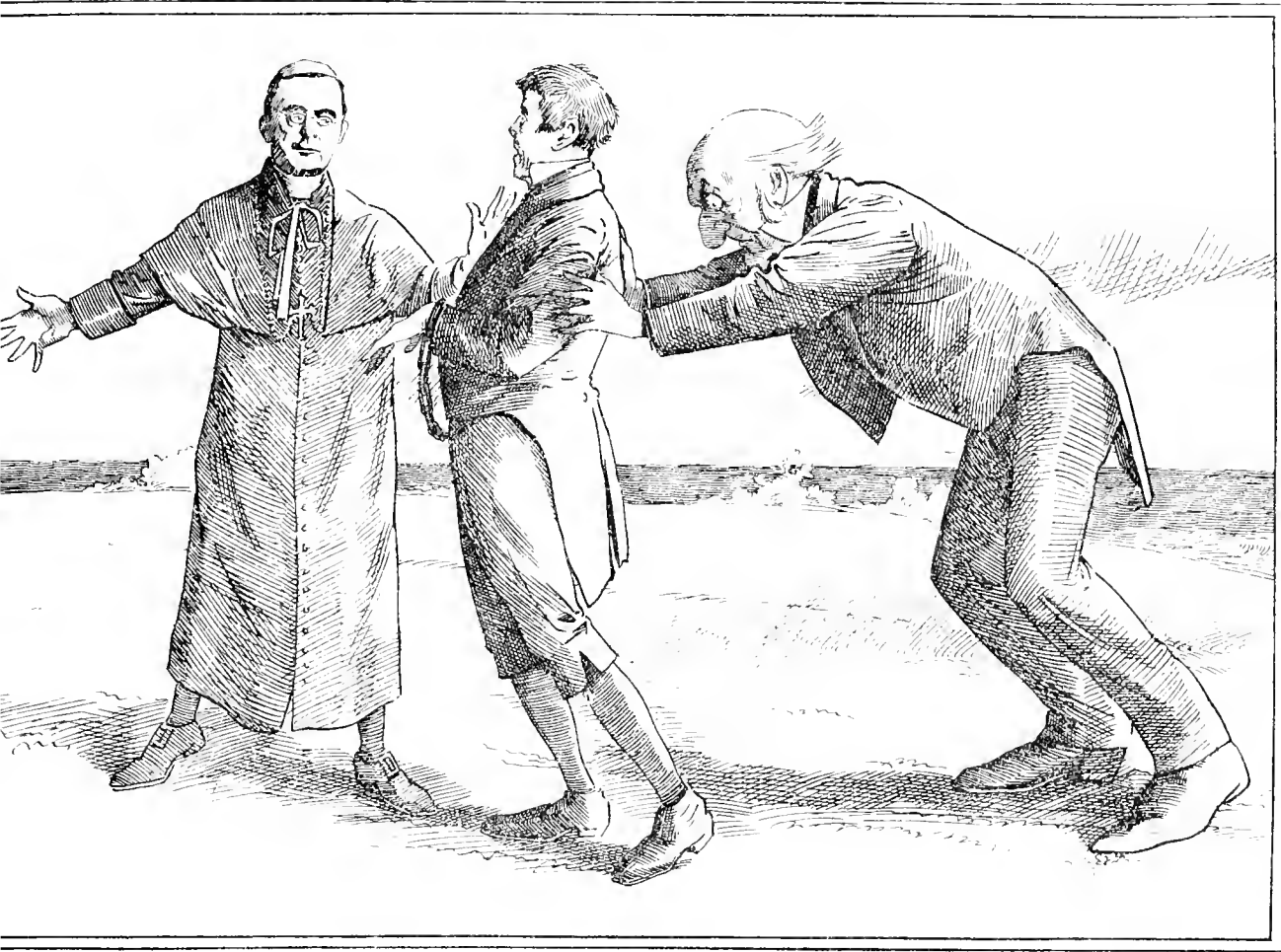
The Pope's Brass Band. "Since the death of Mr Parnell, the Irish members are nothing more or less than the delegates of the Irish Roman Catholic priests."—J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., 13th Oct. 1891. [Tim Harrington doubts "whether there could be any political freedom in a country where influences of the kind prevail."—14th July 1891.]

The Protestant Minority. The number of Wesleyans in Ireland is 48,839. "The impudence of these Wesleyans, and other foreign interlopers, could be equalled only by that of a burglar who should insist on remaining in possession."—*Irish World*, 2nd April 1887. ["What is to be said of the chances of peace being kept between the Protestant minority and the Catholic majority?"—JOHN MORLEY, *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1881.]

"And who so fit this fickle age to lead?

An age of doubt—a man without a creed."—*Lytton*.

Only the Beginning! *United Ireland* says that Mr McCarthy may get Home Rule, under the patronage of the Bishops. "It will be the beginning of the most troublous period in Irish history."—28th March 1891. [Out of the total of 990 Protestant clergymen in Ireland, 864 protested against Home Rule."—*Nor*, 1888.]



ROME RULE.

"Into the arms of Rome."— *Pope*

Sir W. V. Harcourt. "It won't be difficult at all to persuade the people of Ulster—Catholics and Protestants—to cut one another's throats; they are used to it."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, *10th May 1892*. ["Sir William—like Dugald Dalgetty—is a man of war."—H. LABOUCHERE, M.P., *Forum*, *January 1890*.]

When Home Rule Comes.

The Loyalists. "Leave them alone to us, and we will make short work of these gentry. They are *only English and Scotch* who are settled among us."—MICHAEL DAVITT, interview in *Pall Mall Gazette*, *12th May 1886*. [John Morley says that a separate Parliament for Ireland would involve the risk of "a reduced and squalid version of the Thirty Years' War."—J. M., *Nineteenth Century*, *Nov. 1882*.]

"Eternal peace shall bless the happy shore
And little factions break its rest no more."—Churchill.

Paying Them Out. "The poor, the helpless, the uninfluential, will be left to the merey of those who have not concealed their intention of *paying them out* whenever they can get a chance."—SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN, *5th May 1886*. ["Every man who stands aside is a dastard and a coward, and he and his children WILL BE REMEMBERED in the days that are near when Ireland is a free Nation."—JOHN DILLON, *20th Sept. 1887*.]

Mongrels. "The people of Ulster are a parcel of MONGRELS planted there, and measures should be taken to drive them home to their own country."—CAPTAIN CONDON (one of the Chiefs of the "American-Irish" who supply the Funds.)—*April 1887*.

Threats. "Millions and millions yet unborn will remember that before England raised her blood-stained hand from Ireland's throat she ordered us to break the heart of our truest chief. *Some day that account will be settled*."—W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., *15th Oct. 1891*. ["Our armies swore terribly in Flanders," cried my Uncle Toby, "but nothing to this."—*Sterne*.]

Vengeance. Michael Davitt says, after Home Rule is granted, "the sun may some day shine down upon England, when we here in Ireland will have the opportunity of *having vengeance upon* the enemy for its crimes in Ireland."—*3rd June 1887*. ["It is only by experience that we learn—we must submit to suffer a little that we may grow wiser."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *21st Aug. 1890*.]

"So comes a reckoning when the banquet's o'er,
A dreadful reckoning—and men smile no more."

How to Get It. Mr J. J. O'Kelly, M.P., lets the cat out of the bag: "Should a war break out between England and any foreign Power, within three months every man capable of holding a gun would be found *fighting for the enemy* against Great Britain."—J. J. O'KELLY, M.P., *21st Sept. 1885*. ["A swash-buckler—His knowledge of politics is *nil*."—*Cork Herald*, *31st Oct. 1891*.]

The Irish Republic. "They (the Irish) did not desire to have anything more to do with Kings and Queens, for the *only style of Government* to which Irishmen could look for freedom and prosperity was one which would be democratic and REPUBLICAN."—W. H. K. REDMOND, M.P., *24th Aug. 1885*. ["Gentlemen, I possess a gigantic intellect, but I haven't it with me."—ARTEMUS WARD.]

The Parnellites by the Anti-Parnellites. "A greedy swarm of camp-followers."—*National Press*, *2nd Feb. 1892*.

The Anti-Parnellites by the Parnellites. "Poor fools, poor wretched, creeping, wriggling reptiles."—*United Ireland*, *17th Oct. 1891*. ["Pepper is a condiment common to all classes of the community, and, though I cannot say whether this is so or not, I am told that it is largely consumed in Ireland."—W. E. GLADSTONE, *1866*.]



THE UNION OF HEARTS.

"Eternal peace shall bless the happy shore,
And little factions break its rest no more." - Churchill.

Disestablishment.

Before Home Rule. 2nd Oct. 1891. After repeatedly declaring that "Ireland blocks the way," the G. O. Separatist makes a bid for the Nonconformist vote, and says that the Disestablishers "would be very wrong if they *did* consent to wait until Home Rule has become law." ["The Scottish and Welsh Churches are to be bartered against a certain number of votes"—G. J. GOSCHEN, M.P., 15th Oct. 1891.]

"Those who would gain the votes of British tribes,
Must add to force of merit—force of bribes."—*Rosciad*.

Gladstone v. Gladstone.

24th May 1870. G. O. M. strongly opposes motion for Disestablishment in Wales, and says its case is *widely different* from the Irish Church.

20th Feb. 1891. G. O. M., seeking votes, supports Disestablishment of the Church in Wales, and says that its case *corresponds* with that of the Irish Church.

["My head is one of those which presents very great inequalities on the one side as compared with the other."—W. E. G., 3rd March 1883.]

The Church in Wales. The G. O. Unionist says: "It is practically impossible to separate the case of Wales from that of England."—24th May 1870. [20th Feb. 1891. The G. O. Separatist pays £12,000 for an advowson of the Church of England, and discovers that *it is possible* to separate the Church of Wales from that of England.]

The Church of Scotland. The G. O. M. says that the question of Disestablishment "never can be decided except by some *clear and strong* and decided manifestation from the people of Scotland."—At Gilmerton, March 1880. [Nov. 1885. *Sixty-four* per cent. of the Electors of Midlothian declare *against* Disestablishment.]

Inveterate Toryism. Sir W. V. Turncoat defends the Church:—"I am deeply convinced that the control of the State over the Church affords a security which is inestimable to those who hold the faith of liberty."—Sir W. V. HARCOURT, 9th Dec. 1873. [W. E. G. says that Church defence "means sheer, unmitigated, not unveiled, but, on the contrary, disguised but perfectly resolute, effective, inveterate Toryism."—25th Oct. 1890.]

The Policy of Scuttle.

Egypt. The Grand Old Separatist, who proposes to scuttle out of Ireland, also desires to scuttle out of Egypt, and hopes Lord Salisbury will clear out without delay "from the *burdensome and embarrassing* occupation."—2nd Oct. 1891. ["I for one am not willing to place Egypt in the hands of Turkey."—Sir W. V. HARCOURT, 26th Feb. 1885.] ["He (Sir W. V. H.) has a startling capacity for jumping with the jumping cat."—*Pall Mall Gazette* (Gladstoman), 18th Aug. 1890.]

Eight Hours Bill.

Wavering! 23rd March 1892. Second Reading "Eight Hours" Bill. G. O. M. declines to compromise himself by voting. "It has never been my Parliamentary practice to avoid a difficulty by declining to give an opinion."—W. E. G., 12th June 1889. [29th April 1892. G. O. M. refuses to listen to a deputation of working men on the subject, but promises to keep "an open mind."]



THE CONFIDENCE TRICK.

He says he's an old Parliamentary Hand,
That he nurtures his speeches on sherry and egg ;

But though he's a statesmen both ancient and grand,
Some say he's an old Parliamentary "Leg."

Sir W. V. Turncoat. 23rd March 1892. "The Scion of a very ancient stock" ("that political lurcher"—W. S. CAINE, 26th June 1888) attempts to capture the "Labour Vote" on his own account by swallowing the Eight Hours Bill. ["There were two wandering stars of the first magnitude shot into the lobby in favour of it."—JOHN MORLEY, 30th March 1892.] ["What is the true colour of this political chameleon, who is everything by turns and nothing long?"—JOS. CHAMBERLAIN, 28th May 1889.]

"Although you've entered for the race, you scarce can win it :

A man like you is never out of place— save when he's in it."

Local Option. 2nd Oct. 1891. The Grand Old Good Templar goes in for Local Option. "I have been accustomed to drink from a fountain at Westminster *when nobody was looking*."—W. E. G., 29th Dec. 1890. ["I am against grand maternal legislation : I am against forbidding a man to have a glass of beer if he wants to have it."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, 31st Dec. 1872.]

"One Man One Vote." 26th May 1884. Resolution to prevent electors voting in more than one county or borough. OPPOSED by GLADSTONE, HARCOURT, and TREVELYAN.

Payment of Members. 25th March 1892. Resolution that Members should be paid. G. O. M. does not vote: HARCOURT absent. ["He was ever precise in promise-keeping."—*Measure for Measure*.]

The Coming (?) Government.

Gladstonian Coercion. During 1881-82 over 1000 persons were arrested by the Grand Old Government and kept in prison WITHOUT TRIAL. ["The Liberal Party denounced Coercion, and it practised a system of Coercion *more brutal* than any previous Administration, Liberal or Tory."—*Manifesto of the Irish Members*, Nov. 1885.]

Unionist "Coercion." John Morley complains that "The Crimes Act of 1887 was a FAILURE—because so few proceedings had been taken under it."—2nd Feb. 1888. [31st March 1892. There were only FIVE persons in prison in Ireland under The Crimes Act.] [In August 1887 there were 5000 cases of Boycotting. On 31st March 1892 there was not a single case.]

Sir William Harcourt. "He (Sir W. V. H.) actually proposed that a man should get *six months'* imprisonment for being out at 5 o'clock" (evening).—T. M. HEALY, M.P., *Hansard*, 270-1506. ["He has shrieked for Coercion and foamed at the mouth in his speeches."—T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., *Gladstone's House of Commons*, p. 304.]

"With pompous tone and dignity of mien, much patriot show and plenty private spleen,

See burly Harcourt, prince of placemen, stand, and name the terms on which he'll save the land."

Gladstonian Peace. Between 1880-1885. The Grand Old Peace Government of Mr Gladstone spent over NINETEEN MILLIONS on WAR Expenditure. ["Here comes Mr Gladstone ; he loves peace with an almost religious love."—LORD ROSEBURY, 9th Feb. 1885.] ["I think the days are gone by when one attempts to teach one's grandsons to suck eggs."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, 25th March 1890.]

The Gladstonian Policy. "The magistrates, the judges, and the juries of Ireland had to be discredited, the Loyalists of Ulster HAD TO BE SNEERED AT, and the Separatist vote in Ireland *had to be secured*."—SIR W. V. HARCOURT, 17th Sept. 1885. ["If there is one thing more than another which Liberals don't want to hear anything about, it is their declaration of principles before they came into office."—T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P., 30th April 1885.]

"Principles?—I ain't got any ; I se in the show business."—*Artemus Ward*.

Gladstonian Finance. "It is a bitter, but an actual truth, that the *deeds* of the present Tory Government with regard to FINANCIAL REFORM, exceed even the *promises* made by the Liberal leader in 1885."—*The Financial Reformer* (Gladstonian), 15th Sept. 1891. [During six years, 1880-6, the G. O. Government of Mr Gladstone had a total deficiency of £2,105,428. During six years, 1886-92, the Unionists have had a surplus of £11,997,814.]

A Confession. The Grand Old Spider confesses: "From month to month in this deplorable year we have gone down LOWER AND LOWER, and have severed further and further from our OLD OPINIONS, and OLD ASSOCIATIONS, and OLD PREPOSSESSIONS."—W. E. GLADSTONE, 2nd July 1887.

"As to my principles, I glory in having nothing of the sort.

I ain't a Whig, I ain't a Tory, I'm just a CANDIDATE in short."—*Biglow*.

An Appeal! "We earnestly advise our countrymen to vote against the men who COERCED IRELAND, DELUGED EGYPT WITH BLOOD, MENACE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT, and promise generally a repetition of THE CRIMES AND FOLLIES of the last LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION:" Manifesto signed by JUSTIN MCCARTHY, T. SEXTON, T. M. HEALY, and T. P. O'CONNOR, November 1885.

"Thus the whirligig of time brings in his revenges."—*Twelfth Night*.



"Thy hand, great ANARCH! lets the curtain fall;
And universal darkness buries all."—*Popo*

Fortieth Thousand.

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SIR GEORGE O. TREVELYAN.—“Let any of you who has sixpence which he can afford to spend on something which is worth the reverse of sixpence (*sic*), let any of you buy that green pamphlet sold on the bookstalls—(groans) — and let me say that nothing more infamous than those caricatures could be produced in any country in the world.”

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Etc.

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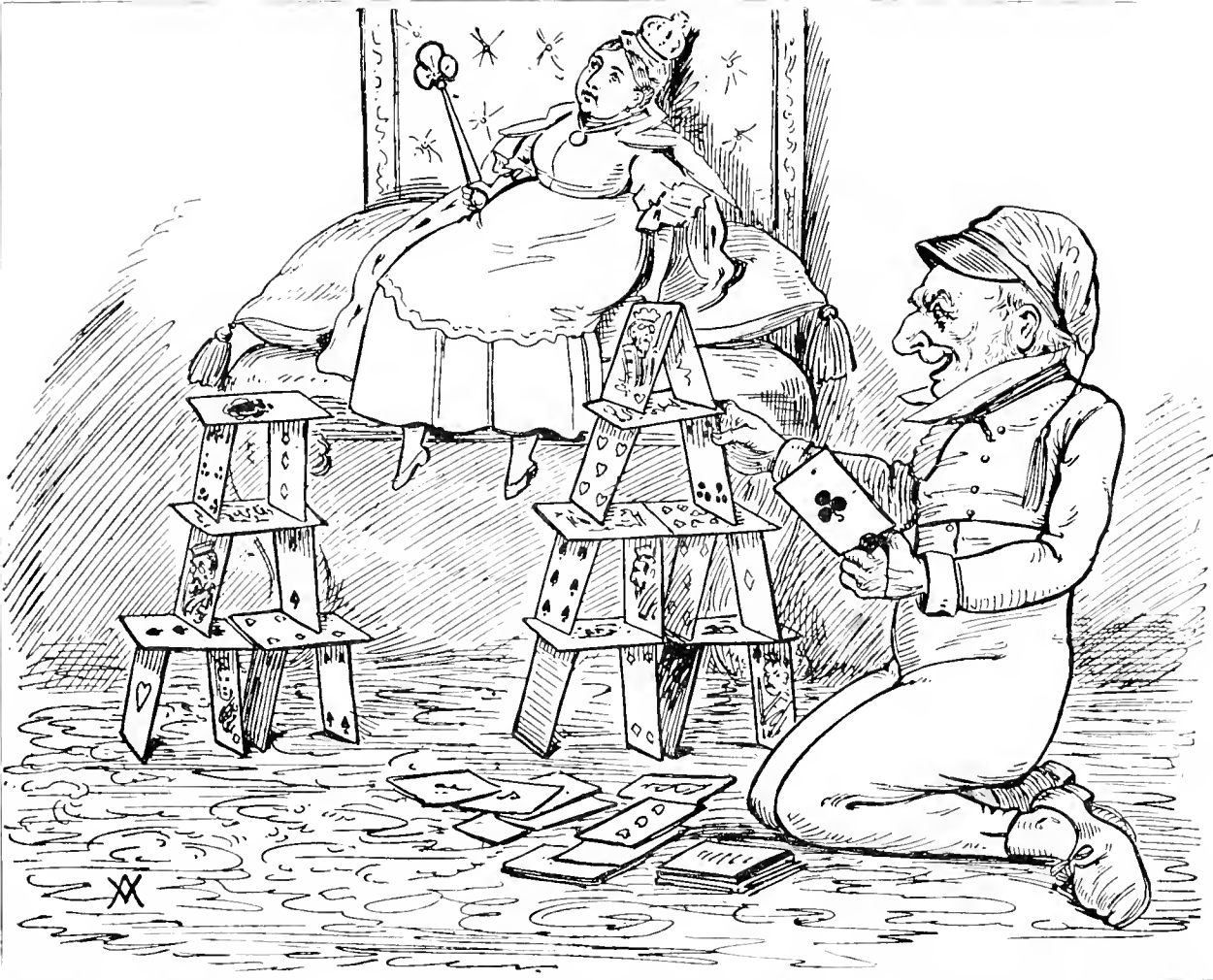
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W.M.

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Establishment of Irish Legislature.

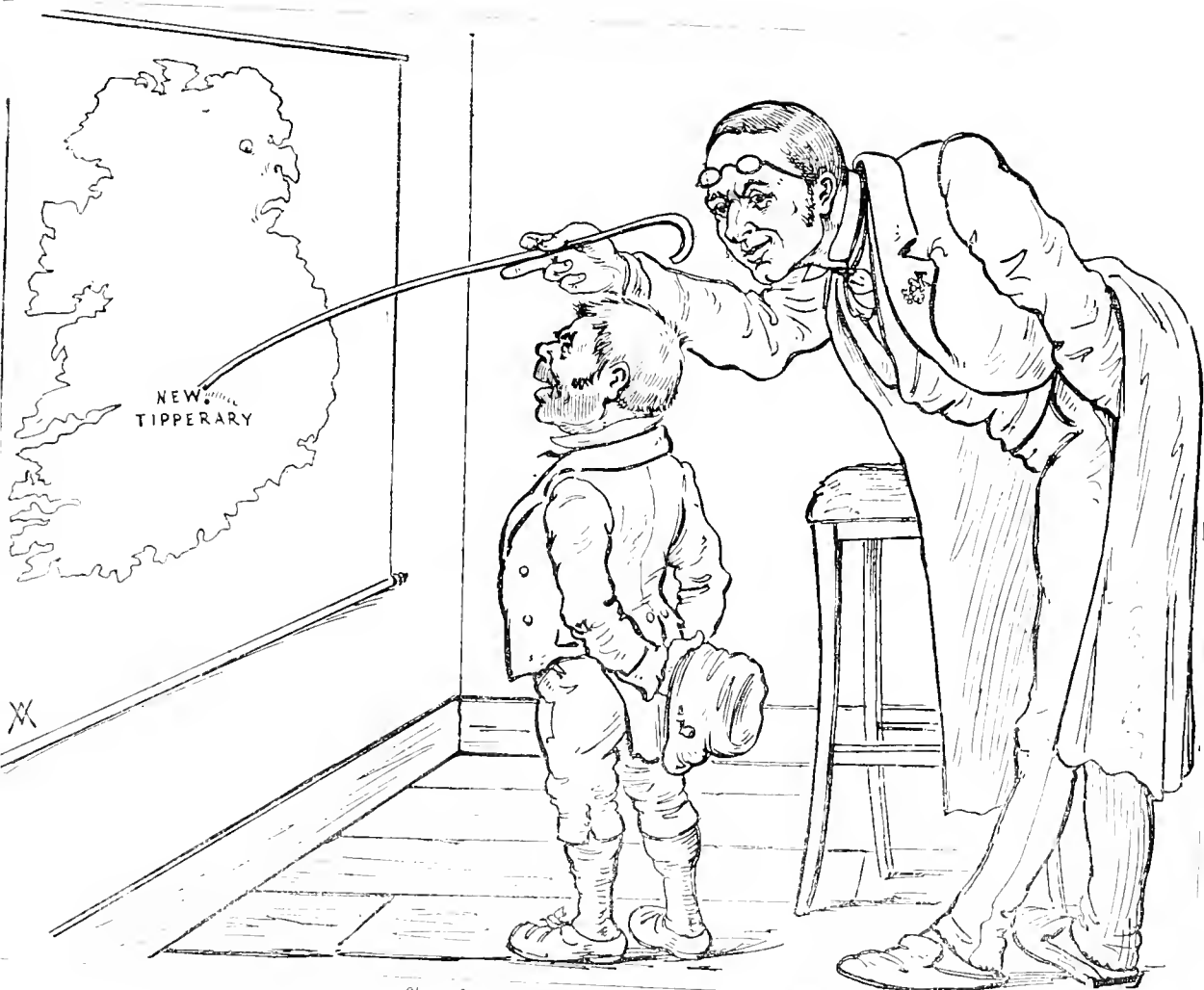
On and after the appointed day there shall be in Ireland a Legislature consisting of Her Majesty the Queen and of two Houses, the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly.



Clause 1. ESTABLISHMENT OF IRISH LEGISLATURE.

Powers of Irish Legislature.

With the exceptions and subject to the restrictions in this Act mentioned, there shall be granted to the Irish Legislature power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland in respect of matters exclusively relating to Ireland *or some part thereof*.



Clause 2. POWERS OF IRISH LEGISLATURE.

Exceptions from powers of Irish Legislature.

The Irish Legislature shall not have power to make laws in respect of the following matters or any of them:—

- 1.—The Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency; or the Lord Lieutenant as representative of the Crown; or
 - 2.—The making of peace or war or matters arising from a state of war; or
 - 3.—Naval or military forces, or the defence of the realm; or
 - 4.—Treaties and other relations with foreign States or the relations between different parts of Her Majesty's dominions or offences connected with such treaties or relations; or
 - 5.—Dignities or titles of honour; or
 - 6.—Treason, treason-felony, alienage, or naturalization; or
 - 7.—Trade with any place out of Ireland; or quarantine, or navigation (except as respects inland waters and local health or harbour regulations); or
 - 8.—Beacons, lighthouses, or sea marks (except as far as they can consistently with any general Act of Parliament be constructed or maintained by a local harbour authority; or
 - 9.—Coinage; legal tender; or the standard of weights and measures; or
 - 10.—Trade marks, merchandise marks, copyright, or patent rights.
- Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.



Clause 3. EXCEPTIONS FROM POWERS OF IRISH LEGISLATURE.

Restrictions on powers of Irish Legislature.

The powers of the Irish Legislature shall not *extend* to the making of any law—

- 1.—Respecting the establishment or endowment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or
- 2.—Imposing any disability, or conferring any privilege, on account of religious belief ; or
- 3.—Abrogating or prejudicially affecting the right to establish or maintain any place of denominational education or any denominational institution or charity ; or
- 4.—Prejudicially affecting the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money, without attending the religious instruction at that school ; or
- 5.—Whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of the laws, or whereby private property may be taken without just compensation ; or
- 6.—Whereby any existing corporation incorporated by Royal Charter or by any local or general Act of Parliament (not being a corporation raising for public purposes taxes, rates, cess, dues, or tolls, or administering funds so raised) may, unless it consents, or the leave of Her Majesty is first obtained on address from the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, be deprived of its rights, privileges, or property without due process of law ; or
- 7.—Whereby any inhabitant of the United Kingdom may be deprived of equal rights as respects public sea fisheries.

Any law made in contravention of this section shall be void.



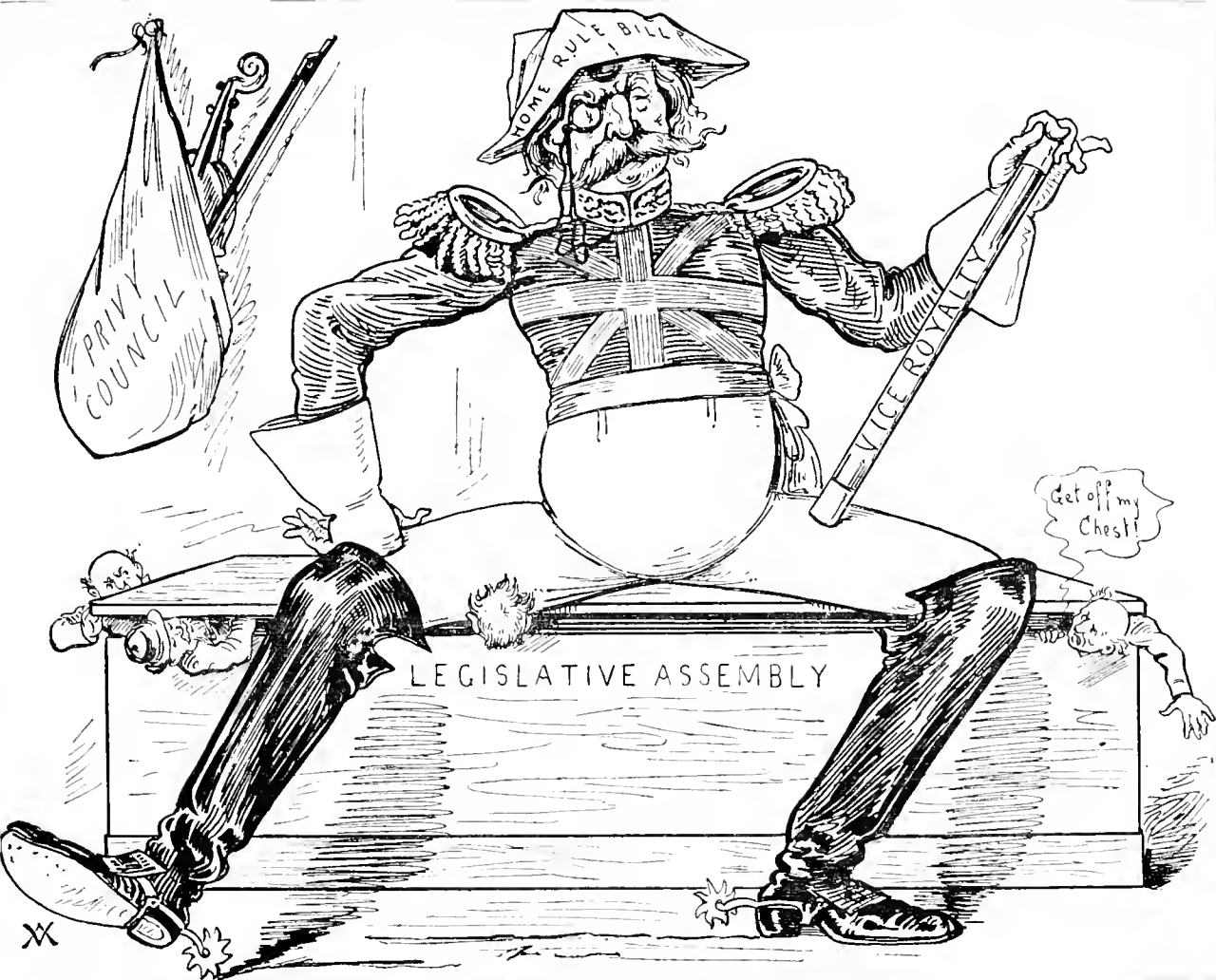
Clause 4. RESTRICTIONS ON POWERS OF IRISH LEGISLATURE.

Executive power in Ireland.

1.—The executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in Her Majesty the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant, on behalf of Her Majesty, shall exercise any prerogatives or other executive power of the Queen the exercise of which may be delegated to him by Her Majesty, and shall, in Her Majesty's name, summon, prorogue, and dissolve the Irish Legislature.

There shall be an executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland to aid and advise in the government of Ireland, being of such numbers, and comprising persons holding such offices, as Her Majesty may think fit, or as may be directed by Irish Act,

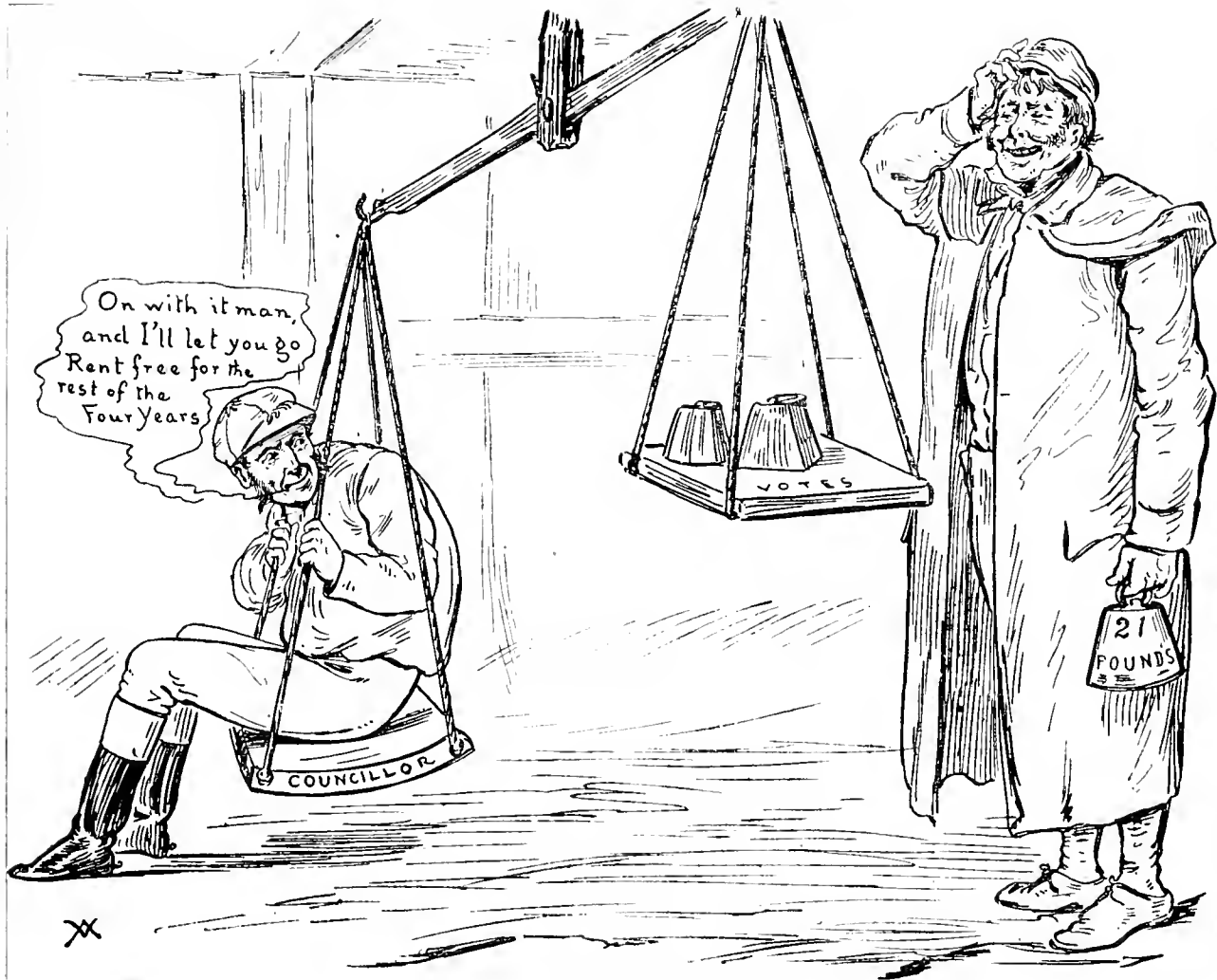
3.—The Lord Lieutenant shall, on the advice of the said Executive Committee, give or withhold the assent of Her Majesty to Bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Legislature, subject nevertheless to any instructions given by Her Majesty in respect of any such Bill.



Clause 5. EXECUTIVE POWER IN IRELAND.

Composition of Irish Legislative Council.

- 1.—The Irish Legislative Council shall consist of *forty-eight* councillors.
- 2.—Each of the constituencies mentioned in the First Schedule to this Act shall return the number of councillors named opposite thereto in that schedule.
- 3.—Every man shall be entitled to be registered as an elector, and when registered to vote at an election, of a councillor for a constituency, who owns or occupies any land or tenement in the constituency of a rateable value of more than *twenty* pounds, subject to the like conditions as a man is entitled at the passing of this Act to be registered and vote as a parliamentary elector in respect of an ownership qualification or of the qualification specified in section five of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, as the case may be : Provided that a man shall not be entitled to be registered, nor if registered to vote, at an election of a councillor in more than one constituency in the same year.
- 4.—The term of office of every councillor shall be *eight* years, and shall not be affected by a dissolution ; and one *half* of the councillors shall retire in every *fourth* year, and their seats shall be filled by a new election.



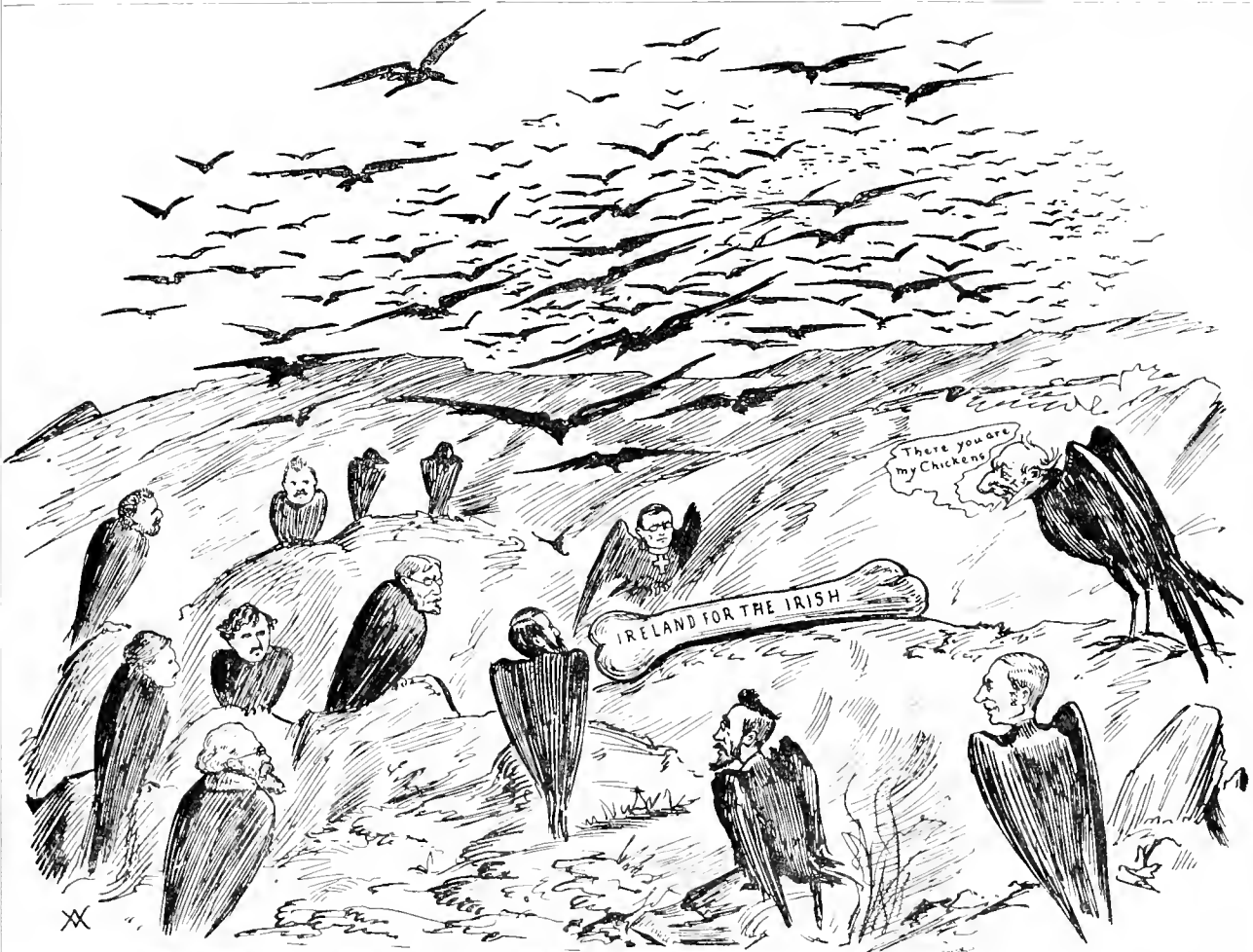
Clause 6. COMPOSITION OF IRISH LEGISLATURE.

Composition of Irish Legislative Assembly.

1.—The Irish Legislative Assembly shall consist of *one hundred and three* members, returned by the existing parliamentary constituencies in Ireland, or the existing divisions thereof, and elected by the parliamentary electors for the time being in those constituencies or divisions.

2.—The Irish Legislative Assembly when summoned may, unless sooner dissolved, have continuance for *five* years from the day on which the summons directs it to meet and no longer.

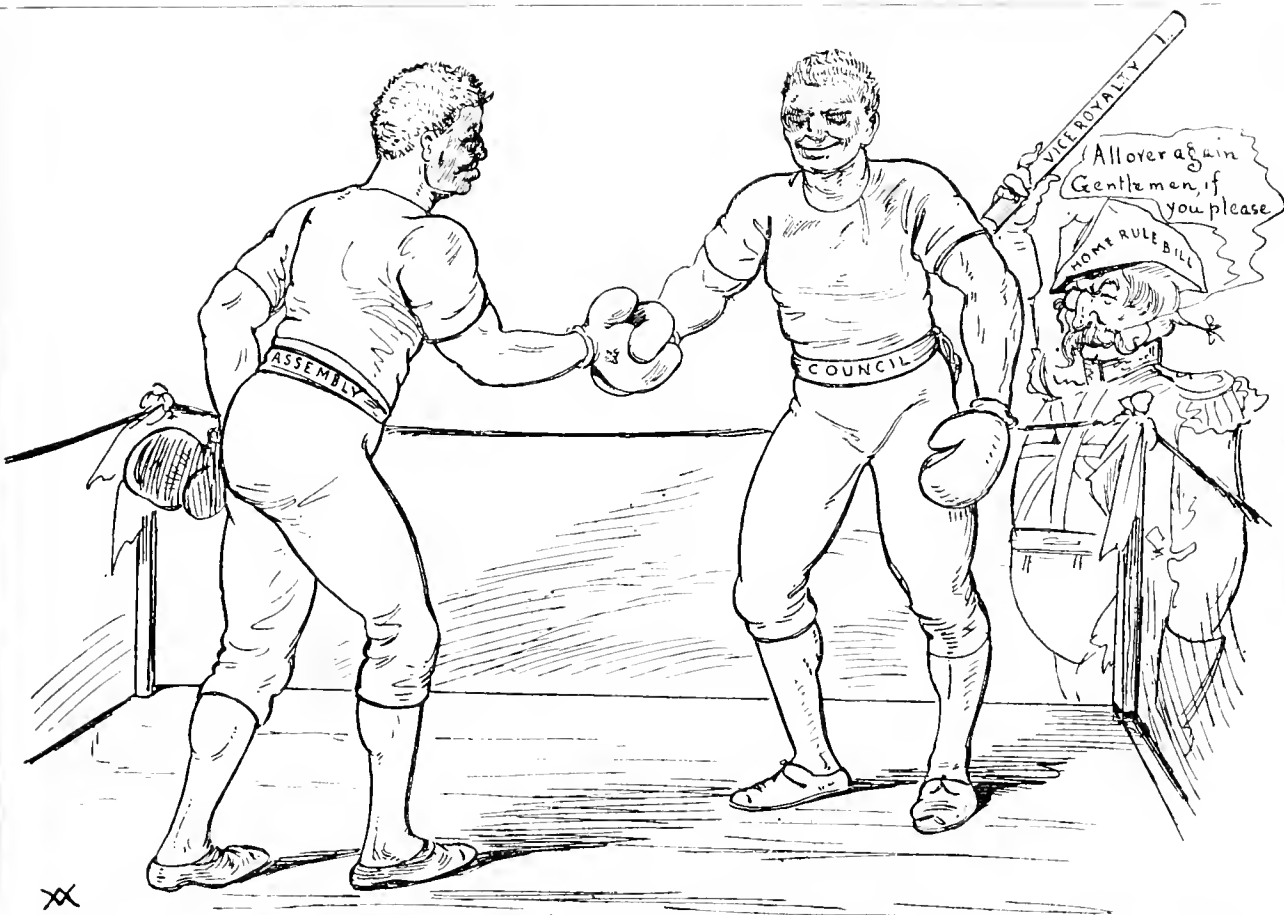
3.—After *six* years from the passing of this Act, the Irish Legislature may alter the qualification of the electors, and the constituencies, and the distribution of the members among the constituencies, provided that in such distribution due regard is had to the population of the constituencies.



Clause 7. COMPOSITION OF IRISH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Disagreement between two Houses, how settled.

If a Bill or any provision of a Bill adopted by the Legislative Assembly is lost by the disagreement of the Legislative Council, and after a dissolution, or the period of *two years* from such disagreement, such Bill, or a Bill for enacting the said provision, is again adopted by the Legislative Assembly and fails within three months afterwards to be adopted by the Legislative Council, the same shall forthwith be submitted to the members of the two Houses deliberating and voting together thereon, and shall be adopted or rejected according to the decision of the majority of those members present and voting on the question.



Clause 8.—DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO HOUSES,—HOW SETTLED.

Representation in Parliament of Irish Counties and Boroughs.

Unless and until Parliament otherwise determines, the following provisions shall have effect—

1.—After the *appointed day* each of the constituencies named in the Second Schedule to this Act shall return to serve in Parliament the number of members named opposite thereto in that schedule, and no more, and Dublin University shall cease to return any member.

2.—The existing divisions of the constituencies shall, save as provided in that schedule, be abolished.

3.—An Irish representative peer in the House of Lords and a member of the House of Commons for an Irish constituency shall not be entitled to deliberate or vote on—

- (a) any Bill or motion in relation thereto, the operation of which Bill or motion is confined to Great Britain or some part thereof; or
- (b) any motion or resolution relating solely to some tax not raised or to be raised in Ireland; or
- (c) any vote or appropriation of money made exclusively for some service not mentioned in the Third Schedule to this Act; or
- (d) any motion or resolution exclusively affecting Great Britain or some part thereof or some local authority or some person or thing therein; or
- (e) any motion or resolution, incidental to any such motion or resolution as either is last mentioned, or relates solely to some tax not raised or to be raised in Ireland, or incidental to any such vote or appropriation of money as aforesaid.

4.—Compliance with the provisions of this section shall not be questioned otherwise than in each House in manner provided by the House.

5.—The election laws and the laws relating to the qualification of parliamentary electors shall not, so far as they relate to parliamentary elections, be altered by the Irish Legislature, but this enactment shall not prevent the Irish Legislature from dealing with any officers concerned with the issue of writs of election, and if any officers are so dealt with, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to arrange for the issue of such writs, and the writs issued in pursuance of such Order shall be of the same effect as if issued in manner heretofore accustomed.



Clause 9. REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT OF IRISH COUNTIES AND BOROUGH.

As to separate Consolidated Fund and Taxes.

1.—*On and after the appointed day* there shall be an Irish Exchequer and Consolidated Fund separate from those of the United Kingdom.

2.—The duties of customs and excise and the duties on postage shall be imposed by Act of Parliament, but subject to the provisions of this Act the Irish Legislature may, in order to provide for the public service of Ireland, impose any other taxes.

3.—Save as in this Act mentioned, all matters relating to the taxes in Ireland and the collection and management thereof shall be regulated by Irish Act, and the same shall be collected and managed by the Irish Government and form part of the public revenues of Ireland : Provided that—

(a) the duties of customs shall be regulated, collected, managed, and paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom as heretofore ; and

(b) all prohibitions in connexion with the duties of excise, and so far as regards articles sent out of Ireland, all matters relating to those duties, shall be regulated by Act of Parliament ; and

(c) the excise duties on articles consumed in Great Britain shall be paid in Great Britain or to an officer of the Government of the United Kingdom.

4.—Save as in this Act mentioned, all the public revenues of Ireland shall be paid into the Irish Exchequer and form a Consolidated Fund, and be appropriated to the public service of Ireland by Irish Act.

5.—If the duties or excise are increased above the rates in force on *the first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three*, the net proceeds in Ireland of the duties in excess of the said rates shall be paid from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

6.—*If the duties of excise are reduced below the rates in force on the said day, and the net proceeds of such duties in Ireland are in consequence less than the net proceeds of the duties before the reduction, a sum equal to the deficiency shall, unless it is otherwise agreed between the Treasury and the Irish Government, be paid from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom to the Irish Exchequer.*



Hereditary revenues and income tax.

1.—The hereditary revenues of the Crown in Ireland which are managed by the Commissioners of Woods shall continue during the life of Her present Majesty to be managed and collected by those Commissioners, and the net amount payable by them to the Exchequer on account of those revenues, after deducting all expenses (but including an allowance for interest on such proceeds of the sale of those revenues as have not been re-invested in Ireland), shall be paid into the Treasury Account (Ireland) hereinafter mentioned, for the benefit of the Irish Exchequer.

2.—A person shall not be required to pay income tax in Great Britain in respect of property situate or business carried on in Ireland, and a person shall not be required to pay income tax in Ireland in respect of property situate or business carried on in Great Britain.

3.—*For the purpose of giving to Ireland the benefit of the difference between the income tax collected in Great Britain from British, Colonial, and foreign securities held by residents in Ireland, and the income tax collected in Ireland from Irish securities held by residents in Great Britain, there shall be made to Ireland out of the income tax collected in Great Britain, an allowance of such amount as may be from time to time determined by the Treasury, in accordance with a minute of the Treasury laid before Parliament before the appointed day, and such allowance shall be paid into the Treasury Account (Ireland) for the benefit of the Irish Exchequer.*

4.—Provided that the provisions of this section with respect to income tax shall not apply to any excess of the rate of income tax in Great Britain above the rate in Ireland or of the rate of income tax in Ireland above the rate in Great Britain.



Clause 11.—HEREDITARY REVENUE AND INCOME TAX.

Financial arrangements as between United Kingdom and Ireland.

1.—The duties of customs contributed by Ireland and, save as provided by this Act, that portion of any public revenue of the United Kingdom to which Ireland may claim to be entitled, whether specified in the Third Schedule to this Act or not, shall be carried to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, as the contribution of Ireland to Imperial liabilities and expenditure as defined in that Schedule.

2.—The civil charges of the Government in Ireland shall, subject as in this Act mentioned, be borne after the appointed day by Ireland.

3.—After *fifteen* years from the passing of this Act the arrangements made by this Act, for the contribution of Ireland to Imperial liabilities and expenditure, and otherwise for the financial relations between the United Kingdom and Ireland, may be revised in pursuance of an address to Her Majesty from the House of Commons, or from the Irish Legislative Assembly.



Clause 12.—FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS AS BETWEEN UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND.

Treasury Account (Ireland).

1.—There shall be established under the direction of the Treasury an account (in this Act referred to as the Treasury Account (Ireland)).

2.—There shall be paid into such account all sums payable from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, or from the latter to the former Exchequer, and all sums directed to be paid into the account for the benefit of either of the said Exchequers.

3.—All sums, which are payable from either of the said Exchequers to the other of them or being out of one of the said Exchequers are repayable by the other Exchequer shall in the first instance be payable out of the said account so far as the money standing on the account is sufficient ; and for the purpose of meeting such sums, the Treasury out of the customs revenue collected in Ireland, and the Irish Government out of any of the public revenues in Ireland, may direct money to be paid to the Treasury Account (Ireland) instead of into the Exchequer.

4.—Any surplus standing on the account to the credit of either Exchequer, and not required for meeting payments, shall at convenient times be paid into that Exchequer, and where any sum so payable into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom is required by law to be forthwith paid to the National Debt Commissioners, that sum may be paid to those Commissioners without being paid into the Exchequer.

5.—All sums payable by virtue of this Act out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom or of Ireland shall be payable from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom or Ireland, as the case may be, within the meaning of this Act, and all sums by this Act made payable from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom shall, if not otherwise paid, be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.



Clause 13.—TREASURY ACCOUNT, IRELAND.

Charges on Irish Consolidated Fund.

1.—There shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund in favour of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom as a first charge on that fund all sums which—

(a) are payable from that Exchequer to the Irish Exchequer; or

(b) are required to repay to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom sums issued to meet the dividends or sinking fund on guaranteed land stock under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891; or

(c) otherwise have been or are required to be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in consequence of the non-payment thereof out of the Exchequer of Ireland or otherwise by the Irish Government.

2.—If at any time the Controller and Auditor General of the United Kingdom is satisfied that any such charge is due, he shall certify the amount of it, and the Treasury shall send such certificate to the Lord Lieutenant, who shall thereupon by order, without any counter-signature, direct the payment of the amount from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, and such order shall be duly obeyed by all persons, and until the amount is wholly paid no other payment shall be made out of the Irish Exchequer for any purpose whatever.

3.—There shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund next after the foregoing charge:

(a) all sums, for dividends or sinking fund on guaranteed land stock under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1891, which the Land Purchase Account and the Guarantee Fund under that Act are insufficient to pay;

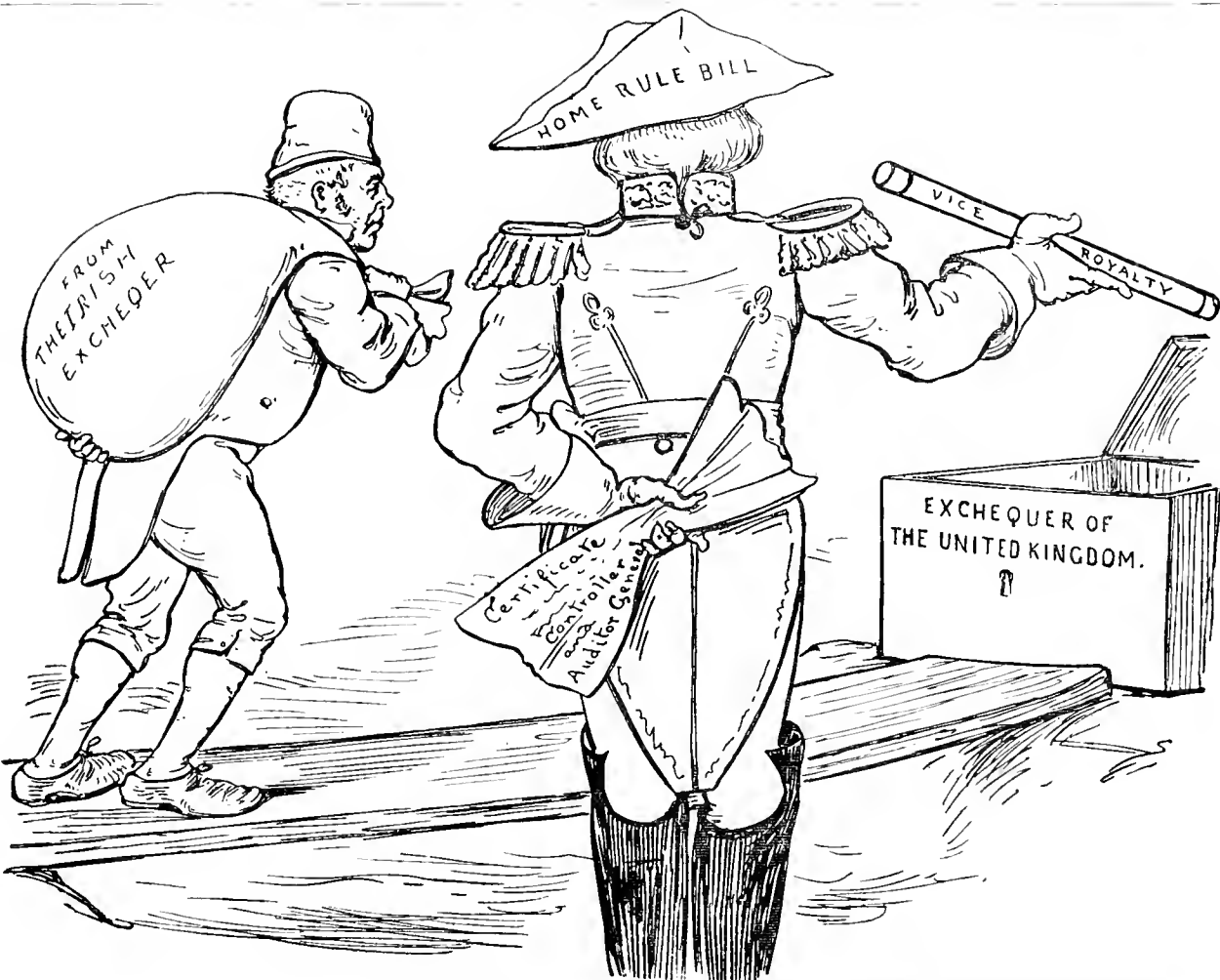
(b) all sums due in respect of any debt incurred by the Government of Ireland, whether for interest, management, or sinking fund;

(c) an annual sum of *five thousand* pounds for the expenses of the household and establishment of the Lord Lieutenant;

(d) all existing charges on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in respect of Irish services other than the salary of the Lord Lieutenant; and

(e) the salaries and pensions of all Judges of the Supreme Court or other superior court in Ireland, or of any county or other like court, who are appointed after the passing of this Act, and are not the Exchequer Judges hereafter mentioned.

4.—Until all charges created by this Act upon the Irish Consolidated Fund and for the time being due are paid, no money shall be issued from the Irish Exchequer for any other purpose whatever.

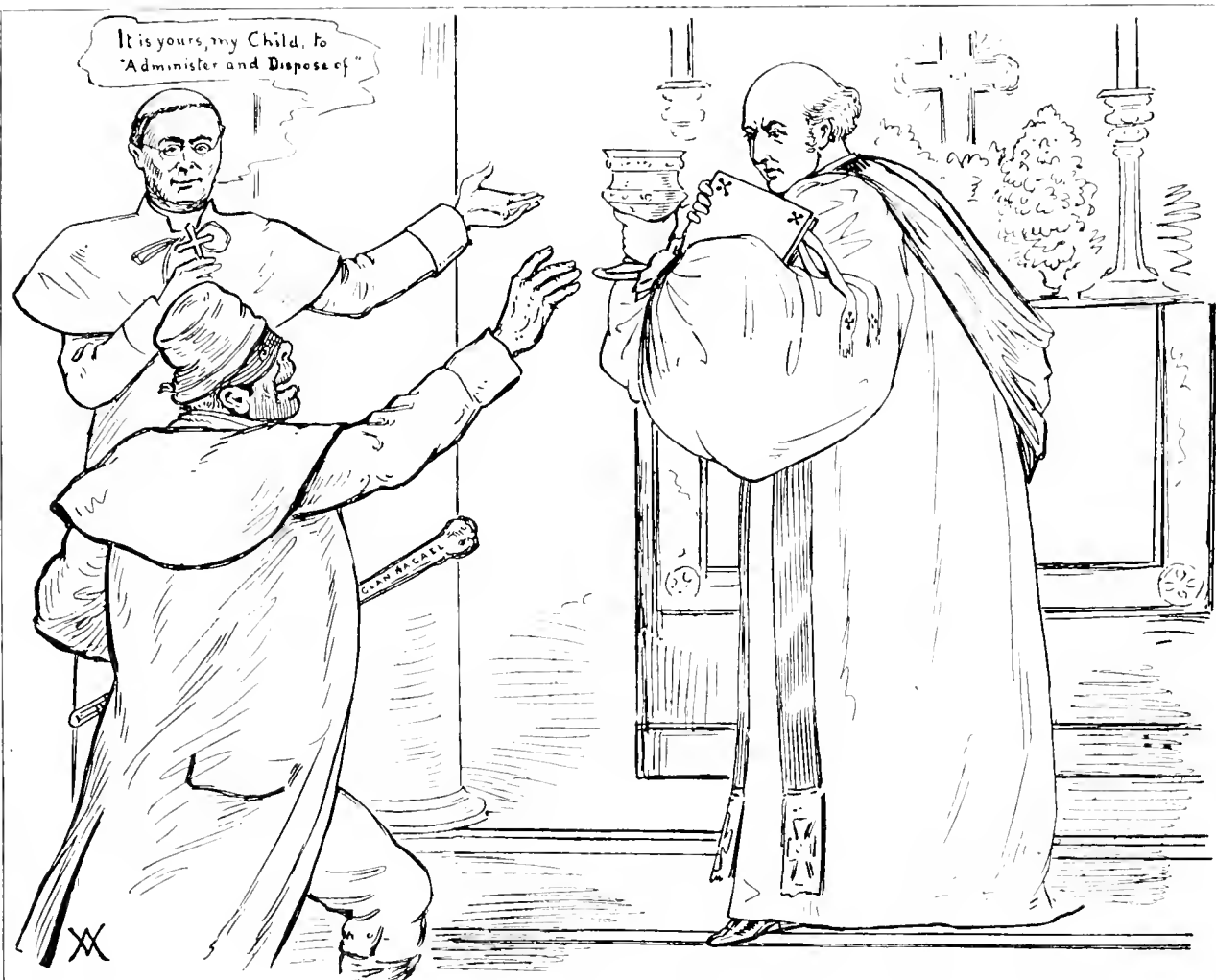


Clause 14.—CHARGES ON IRISH CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Irish Church Fund.

1.—All existing charges on the Church property in Ireland,—that is to say, all property accruing under the Irish Church Act, 1869, and transferred to the Irish Land Commission by the Irish Church Amendment Act, 1881—shall so far as not paid out of the said property, be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund, and any of those charges guaranteed by the Treasury, if and so far as not paid, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

2.—Subject to the existing charges thereon, the said Church property shall belong to the Irish Government, and be managed, administered, and disposed of as directed by Irish Act.



Local Loans.

1.—All sums paid or applicable in or towards the discharge of the interest or principal of any local loan advanced before the appointed day on security in Ireland, or otherwise in respect of such loan, which but for this Act would be paid to the National Debt Commissioners, and carried to the Local Loans Fund shall, after the appointed day, be paid, until otherwise provided by Irish Act, to the Irish Exchequer.

2.—For the payment to the Local Loans Fund of the principal and interest of such loans, the Irish Government shall after the appointed day pay by half-yearly payments an annuity for *forty-nine* years, at the rate of *four* per cent on the principal of the said loans, exclusive of any sums written off before the appointed day from the account of assets of the Local Loans Fund, and such annuity shall be paid from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, and when so paid shall be forthwith paid to the National Debt Commissioners for the credit of the Local Loans Fund.

3.—After the appointed day, money for loans in Ireland shall cease to be advanced, either by the Public Works Loan Commissioners, or out of the Local Loans Fund.



Adaption of Acts as to Local Taxation Accounts and Probate, &c., Duties.

1.—So much of any Act as directs payment to the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account of any share of probate, excise or customs duties payable to the Exchequer of the United Kingdom shall, together with any enactment amending the same, be repealed as from the appointed day without prejudice to the adjustment of balances after that day; but the like amounts shall continue to be paid to the Local Taxation Accounts in England and Scotland as would have been paid if this Act had not passed, and any residue of the said share shall be paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.

2.—The stamp duty chargeable in respect of the personality of deceased person shall not, in the case of administration granted in Great Britain, be chargeable in respect of any personality situate in Ireland, nor, in the case of administration granted in Ireland, be chargeable in respect of any personalty situate in Great Britain; and any administration granted in Great Britain shall not, if re-sealed in Ireland, be exempt from stamp duty on administration granted in Ireland, and any administration granted in Ireland shall not, when re-sealed in Great Britain, be exempt from stamp duty on administration granted in Great Britain.

3.—In this section the expression "administration" means probate or letters of administration, and as respects Scotland, confirmation inclusive of the inventory required under the Acts relating to the said stamp duty, and the expression "personalty" means personal or moveable estate and effects.



Money Bills and Votes.

1.—Bills for appropriating any part of the public revenue, or for imposing any tax, shall originate in the Legislative Assembly.

2.—It shall not be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address, or Bill for the appropriation for any purpose of any part of the public revenue of Ireland, or of any tax, except in pursuance of a recommendation from the Lord Lieutenant in the session in which such vote, resolution, address, or Bill is proposed.

No manner of use Mr Eely
Get Mr. Vice Royalty to put his name
across it, and I'll see
vat I can do den



Exchequer Judges, for Revenue Actions, Election Petitions, &c.

1.—Two of the Judges of the Supreme Court in Ireland shall be Exchequer Judges, and shall be appointed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom; and their salaries and pensions shall be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

2.—The Exchequer Judges shall be removeable only by Her Majesty on address from the the two Houses of Parliament, and each such Judge shall, save as otherwise provided by Parliament, receive the same salary and be entitled to the same pension as is at the time of his appointment fixed for the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court, and during his continuance in office his salary shall not be diminished, nor his right to pension altered, without his consent.

3.—An alteration of any rules relating to such legal proceedings as are mentioned in this section shall not be made except with the approval of Her Majesty the Queen in Council; and the sittings of the Exchequer Judges shall be regulated with the like approval.

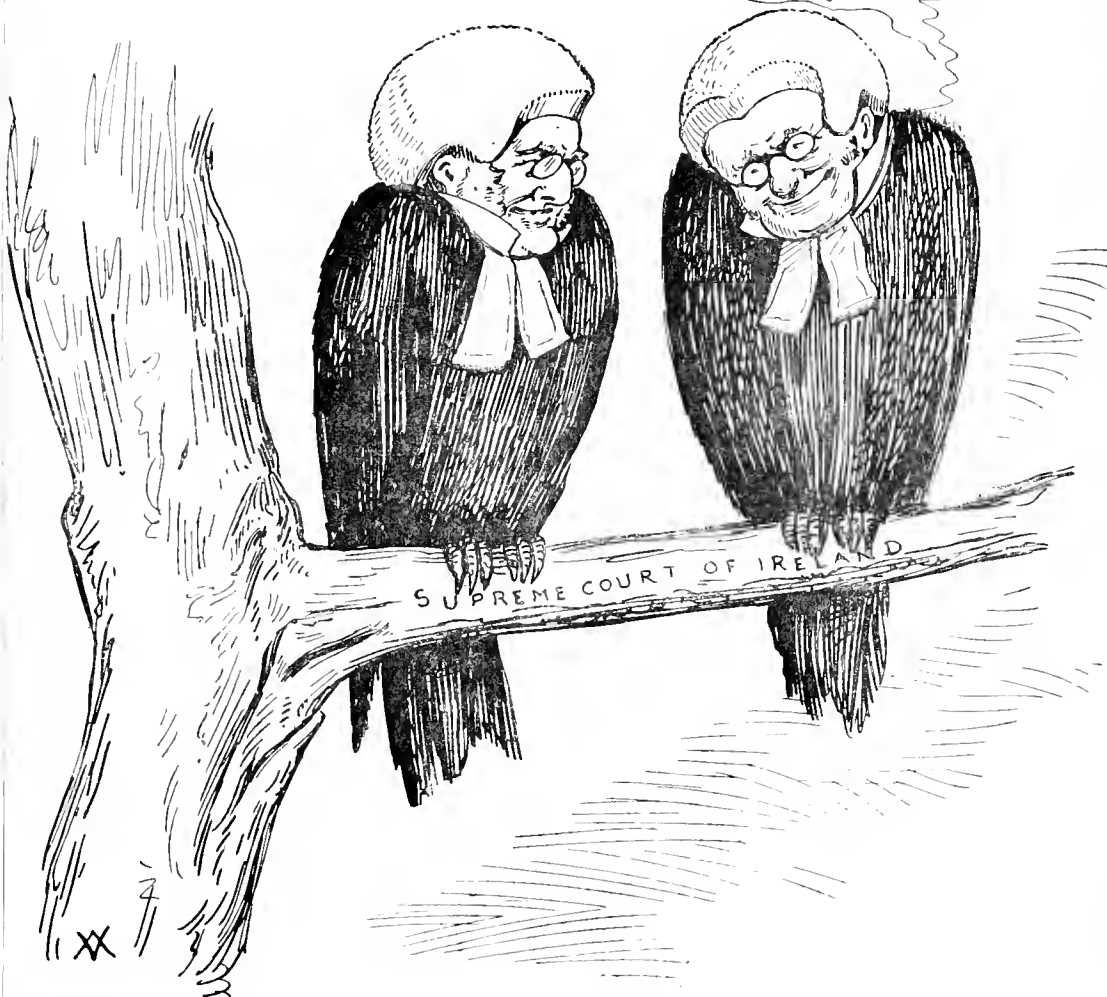
4.—All legal proceedings in Ireland, which are instituted at the instance of or against the Treasury or Commissioners of Customs, or any of their Officers, or relate to the election of Members to serve in Parliament, or touch any matter not within the powers of the Irish Legislature, or touch any matter affected by a law which the Irish Legislature have not power to repeal or alter, shall, if so required by any party to such proceedings, be heard and determined before the Exchequer Judges or (except where the case requires to be determined by two judges) before one of them, and in any such legal proceeding an appeal shall, if any party so requires, lie from any court of first instance in Ireland to the Exchequer Judges, and the decision of the Exchequer Judges shall be subject to appeal to Her Majesty the Queen in Council, and not to any other tribunal.

5.—If it is made to appear to an Exchequer Judge that any decree or judgment in any such proceeding as aforesaid has not been duly enforced by the sheriff or other officer whose duty it is to enforce the same, such Judge shall appoint some officer whose duty it shall be to enforce that judgment or decree; and for that purpose such officer, and all persons employed by him, shall be entitled to the same privileges, immunities, and powers as are by law conferred on a sheriff and his officers.

6.—The Exchequer Judges, when not engaged in hearing and determining such legal proceedings as above in this section mentioned, shall perform such of the duties ordinarily performed by other Judges of the Supreme Court in Ireland as may be assigned by Her Majesty the Queen in Council.

7.—All sums recovered by the Treasury or Commissioners of Customs, or any of their officers, or recovered under any Act relating to duties of customs, shall, notwithstanding anything in any other Act, be paid to such public account as the Treasury or the Commissioners direct,

We may have to administer Law in Ireland,
but thank goodness we are paid
by England.



Transfer of Post Office and Postal Telegraphs.

1.—As from *the appointed day* the postal and telegraph service in Ireland shall be transferred to the Irish Government, and may be regulated by Irish Act, except as in this Act mentioned, and except as regards matters relating—

(a) to such conditions of the transmission or delivery of postal packets and telegrams as are incidental to the duties on postage; or

(b) to foreign mails or submarine telegraphs or through lines in connection therewith; or

(c) to any other postal or telegraphic business in connection with places out of the United Kingdom.

2.—The administration of or incidental to the said excepted matters shall, save as may be otherwise arranged with the Irish Post Office, remain with the Postmaster-General.

3.—As regards the revenue and expenses of the postal and telegraph service, the Postmaster-General shall retain the revenue collected and defray the expenses incurred in Great Britain, and the Irish Post Office shall retain the revenue collected and defray the expenses incurred in Ireland, subject to the provisions of the Fourth Schedule to this Act; which schedule shall have full effect, but may be varied or added to by agreement by the Postmaster-General and the Irish Post Office.

4.—*The sums payable by the Postmaster-General or Irish Post Office to the other of them in pursuance of this Act shall, if not paid out of Post Office moneys, be paid from the Exchequer of the United Kingdom or of Ireland, as the case requires, to the other Exchequer.*

5.—Sections forty-eight to fifty-two of the Telegraph Act, 1863, and any enactment amending the same, shall apply to all telegraphic lines of the Irish Government in like manner as to the telegraphs of a company within the meaning of that Act.

Ye'll be late wid thim
latters, Pat

Ah sure ought n't the Mail
to wait on the Female, Biddy?
and aren't we our own
Post Master General now
and can do us welike



Transfer of Savings Banks.

1.—As from *the appointed day* there shall be transferred to the Irish Government the Post Office Savings Banks in Ireland, and all such powers and duties of any department or officer in Great Britain as are connected with Post Office Savings Banks, Trustee Savings Banks, or Friendly Societies in Ireland, and the same may be regulated by Irish Act.

2.—The Treasury shall publish not less than six months previous notice of the transfer of Savings Banks.

3.—If before the date of the transfer any depositor in a Post Office Savings Bank so requests, his deposit shall, according to his request, either be paid to him or transferred to a Post Office Savings Bank in Great Britain, and after the said date the depositors in a Post Office Savings Bank in Ireland shall cease to have any claim against the Postmaster-General or the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, but shall have the like claim against the Government and Consolidated Fund of Ireland ;

4.—If before the date of the transfer the Trustees of any Trustee Savings Bank so request, then according to the request, either all sums due to them shall be repaid and the Savings Bank closed, or those sums shall be paid to the Irish Government, and after the said date the said Trustees shall cease to have any claim against the National Debt Commissioners or the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, but shall have the like claim against the Government and Consolidated Fund of Ireland.

5.—Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this section, if a sum due on account of any annuity or policy of insurance which has before the above-mentioned notice been granted through a Post Office or Trustee Savings Bank, is not paid by the Irish Government, that sum shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.



Irish appeals.

1.—The appeal from courts in Ireland to the House of Lords shall cease ; and where any person would, but for this Act, have a right to appeal from any court in Ireland to the House of Lords, such person shall have the like right to appeal to Her Majesty the Queen in Council ; and the right so to appeal shall not be affected by any Irish Act ; and all enactments relating to appeals to Her Majesty the Queen in Council, and to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, shall apply accordingly.

2.—When the Judicial Committee sit for hearing appeals from a court in Ireland, there shall be present not less than four Lords of Appeal, within the meaning of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, and at least one member who is or has been a judge of the Supreme Court in Ireland.

3.—A rota of privy councillors to sit for hearing appeals from courts in Ireland shall be made annually by Her Majesty in council, and the privy councillors, or some of them, on that rota shall sit to hear the said appeals. A casual vacancy in such rota during the year may be filled by Order in Council.

4.—Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to determine the claims to Irish peerages.



Special provision for decision of constitutional questions.

1.—If it appears to the Lord Lieutenant or a Secretary of State expedient in the public interest that steps shall be taken for the speedy determination of the question whether any Irish Act or any provision thereof is beyond the powers of the Irish Legislature, he may represent the same to Her Majesty in Council, and thereupon the said question shall be forthwith referred to and heard and determined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, constituted as if hearing an appeal from a court in Ireland.

2.—Upon the hearing of the question such persons as seem to the Judicial Committee to be interested may be allowed to appear and be heard as parties to the case, and the decision of the Judicial Committee shall be given in like manner as if it were the decision of an appeal, the nature of the report and recommendation to Her Majesty being stated in open court.

3.—Nothing in this Act shall prejudice any other power of Her Majesty in Council to refer any question to the Judicial Committee or the right of any person to petition Her Majesty for such reference.



Clause 23. SPECIAL PROVISION FOR DECISION OF CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

Office of Lord Lieutenant.

1.—Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act, every subject of the Queen shall be qualified to hold the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, without reference to his religious belief.

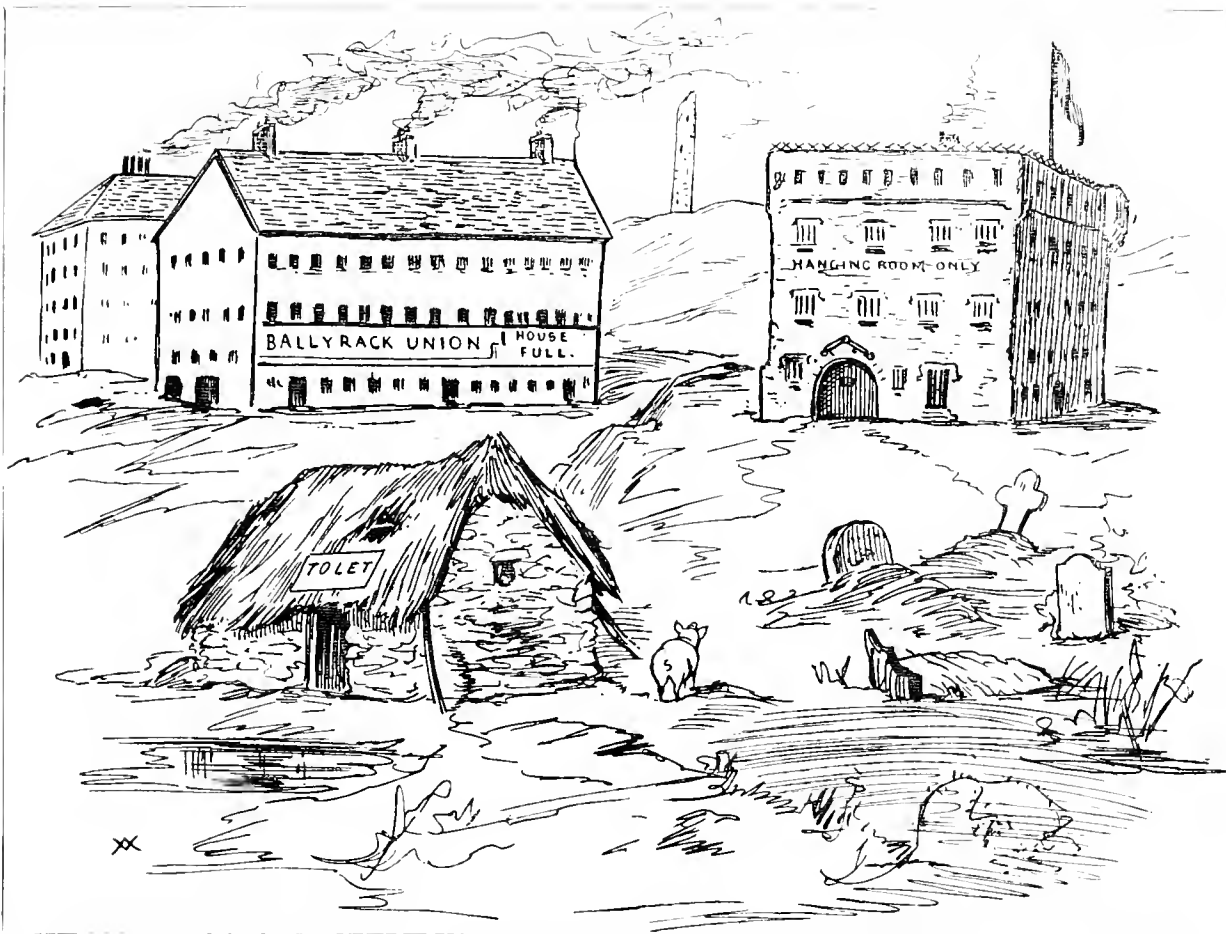
2.—The term of office of the Lord Lieutenant shall be *six years*, without prejudice to the power of Her Majesty the Queen at any time to revoke the appointment.



Clause 24. OFFICE OF LORD LIEUTENANT.

Use of Crown lands by Irish Government.

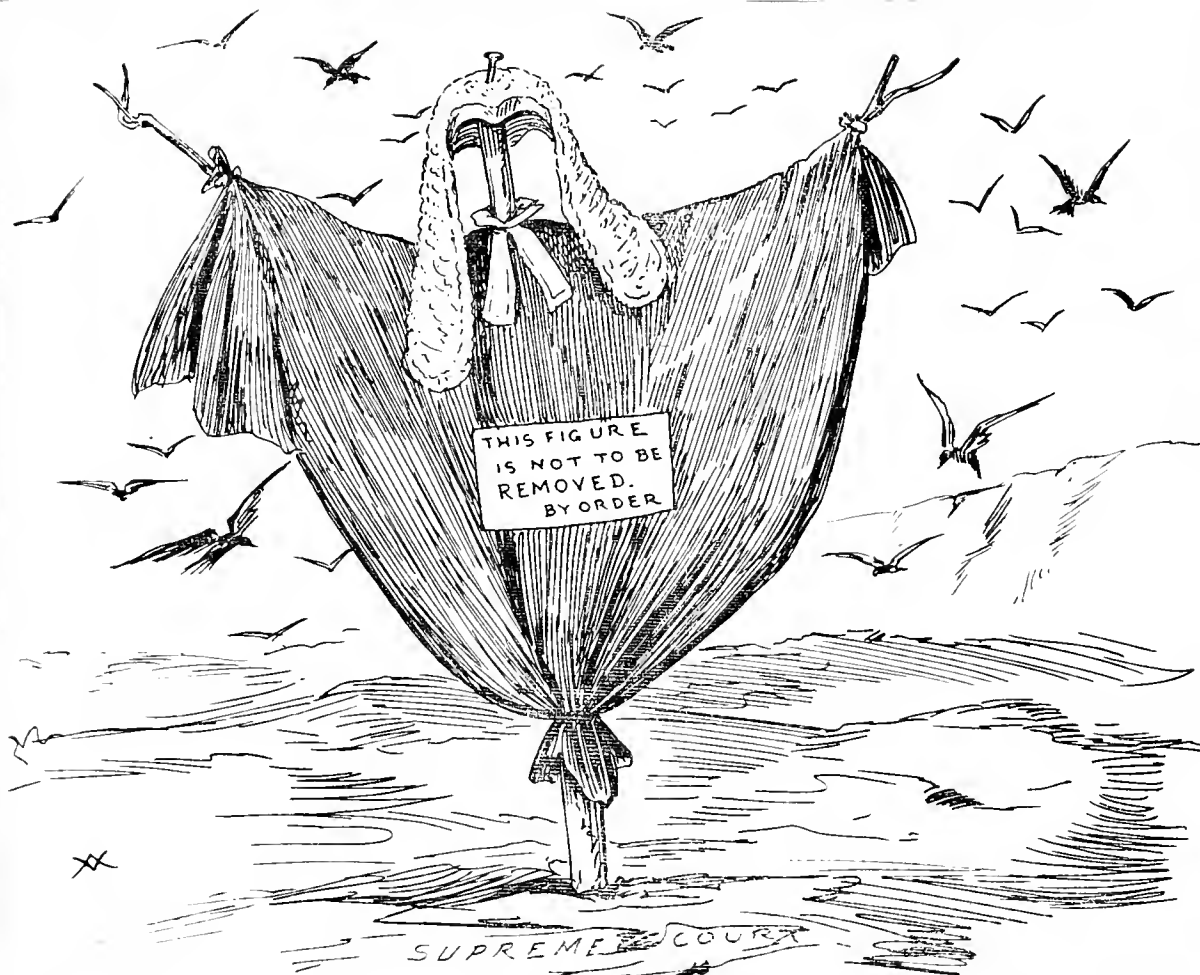
Her Majesty the Queen in Council may place under the control of the Irish Government, for the purposes of that government, such of the lands and buildings in Ireland vested in or held in trust for Her Majesty, and subject to such conditions or restrictions (if any) as may seem expedient.



Clause 25. USE OF CROWN LANDS BY IRISH GOVERNMENT.

Tenure of future judges.

A judge of the Supreme Court or other superior court in Ireland, or of any county court or other court with a like jurisdiction in Ireland, appointed after the passing of this Act, shall not be removed from his office except in pursuance of an address from the two Houses of the Legislature of Ireland, nor during his continuance in office shall his salary be diminished or right to pension altered without his consent.



As to existing judges and other persons having salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund.

All existing judges of the Supreme Court, county court judges, and Land Commissioners in Ireland and all existing officers serving in Ireland in the permanent civil service of the crown and receiving salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, shall, if they are removeable at present on address from both Houses of Parliament continue to be removeable only upon such address, and if removeable in any other manner shall continue to be removeable only in the same manner as heretofore; and shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore, or such duties as Her Majesty may declare to be analogous, and their salaries and pensions, if and so far as not paid out of the Irish Consolidated Fund, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom: Provided that this section shall be subject to the provisions of this Act with respect to the Exchequer judges.

2.—If any of the said judges, commissioners, or officers retires from office with the Queen's approbation before completion of the period of service entitling him to a pension, Her Majesty may, if she thinks fit, grant to him such pension, not exceeding the pension to which he would on that completion have been entitled, as to Her Majesty seems meet.



As to persons holding civil service appointments.

1.—All existing officers in the permanent civil service of the Crown, who are not above provided for, and are at the appointed day serving in Ireland, shall after that day continue to hold their offices by the same tenure and to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and to be liable to perform the same duties as heretofore or such duties as the Treasury may declare to be analogous; *and the said gratuities and pensions, and until three years after the passing of this Act, the salaries due to any of the said officers if remaining in his existing office, shall be paid to the payees by the Treasury out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

2.—Any such officer may, after *three years* from the passing of this Act, retire from office and shall, at any time during those three years, if required by the Irish Government, retire from office, and on any such retirement may be awarded by the Treasury a gratuity or pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act: Provided that—

(a) six months' written notice shall, unless it is otherwise agreed, be given either by the said officer or by the Irish Government as the case requires; and

(b) such number of officers only shall retire at one time and at such intervals of time as the Treasury, in communication with the Irish Government, sanction

3.—If any such officer does not so retire, the Treasury may award him, after the said three years, a pension in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act, which shall become payable to him on his ultimate retirement from the service of the Crown.

4.—*The gratuities and pensions awarded in accordance with the Fifth Schedule to this Act shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

5.—All sums paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom in pursuance of this section shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.

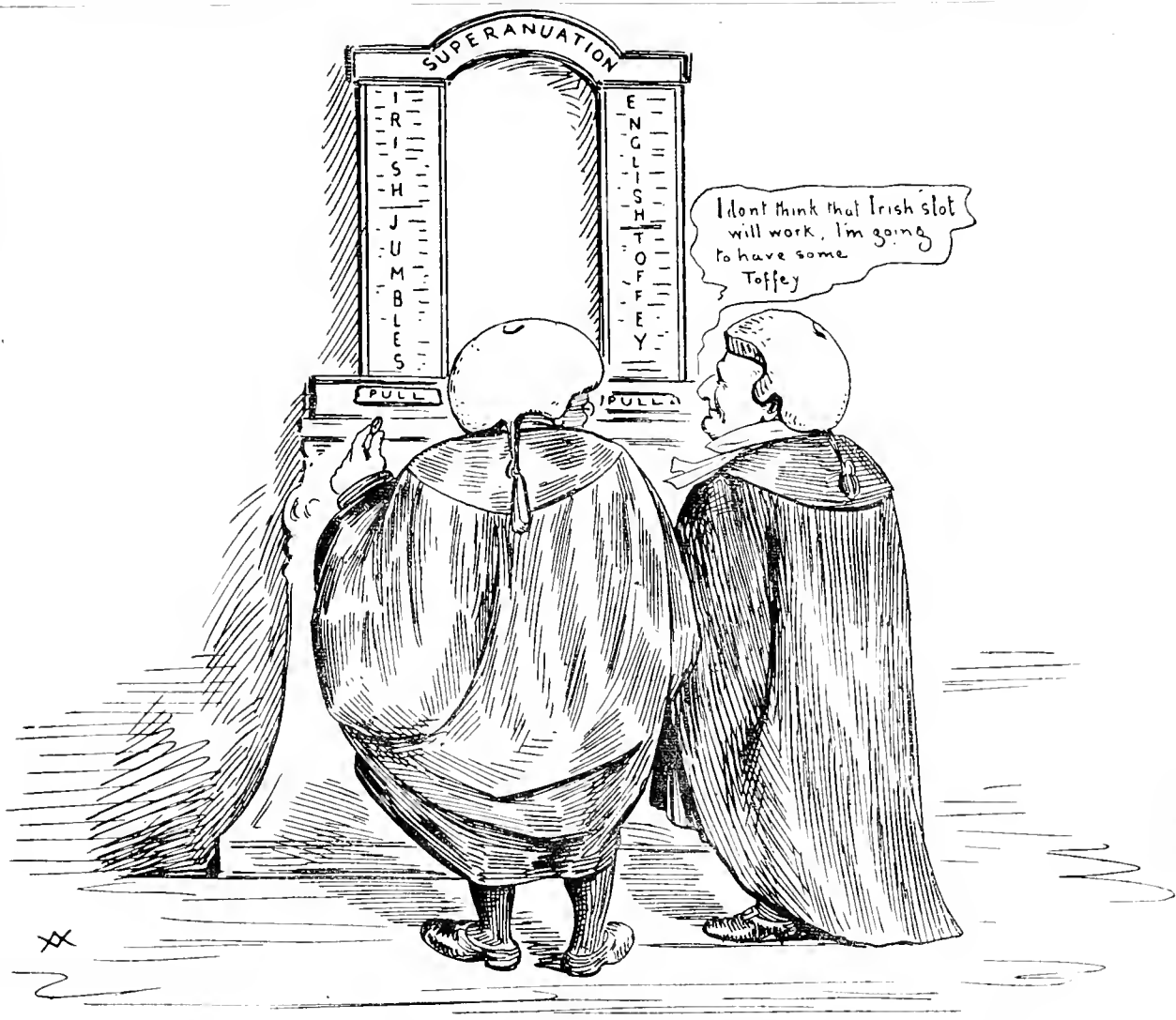
6.—This section shall not apply to officers retained in the service of the Government of the United Kingdom.



Clause 28. AS TO PERSONS HOLDING CIVIL SERVICE APPOINTMENTS.

As to Existing Pensions and Superannuation Allowances.

Any existing pension granted on account of service in Ireland as a Judge of the Supreme Court or of any Court consolidated into that Court, or as a County Court Judge, or in any other judicial position, or as an officer in the permanent Civil Service of the Crown other than in an office the holder of which is, after the appointed day, retained in the service of the Government of the United Kingdom, shall be charged on the Irish Consolidated Fund, and if and so far as not paid out of that fund, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.



Clause 29. AS TO EXISTING PENSIONS AND SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES.

As to Police.

1.—The forces of the Royal Irish Constabulary and Dublin Metropolitan Police shall, when and as local police forces are from time to time established in Ireland in accordance with the Sixth Schedule to this Act, be gradually reduced and ultimately cease to exist as mentioned in that Schedule; and after the passing of this Act, no officer or man shall be appointed to either of those forces;

Provided that until the expiration of *six* years from the appointed day, nothing in this Act shall require the Lord Lieutenant to cause either of the said forces to cease to exist if, as representing Her Majesty the Queen, he considers it inexpedient.

2.—The said two forces shall, while they continue, be subject to the control of the Lord Lieutenant as representing Her Majesty, and the members thereof shall continue to receive the same salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and hold their appointments on the same tenure as heretofore, *and those salaries, gratuities, and pensions, and all the expenditure incidental to either force, shall be paid out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

3.—When any existing member of either force retires under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to this Act, the Treasury may award to him a gratuity or pension in accordance with that Schedule.

4.—*Those gratuities and pensions, and all existing pensions payable in respect of service in either force, shall be paid by the Treasury to the payees out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.*

5.—*Two-thirds of the net amount payable in pursuance of this section out of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom shall be repaid to that Exchequer from the Irish Exchequer.*



Miscellaneous.

Save as may be otherwise provided by Irish Act,—

- (a.) The existing law relating to the Exchequer and Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom shall apply with the necessary modifications to the Exchequer and Consolidated Fund of Ireland, and an officer shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to be the Irish Comptroller and Auditor General; and
 - (b.) The accounts of the Irish Consolidated Fund shall be audited as appropriation accounts in manner provided by the Exchequer and Audit Departments Act, 1866, by or under the direction of such officer.
- 1.—Subject as in this Act mentioned and particularly to the Seventh Schedule to this Act (which Schedule shall have full effect) all existing election laws relating to the House of Commons and the members thereof shall, so far as applicable, extend to each of the two Houses of the Irish Legislature and the members thereof, but such election laws so far as hereby extended may be altered by Irish Act.
- 2.—The privileges, rights, and immunities to be held and enjoyed by each House and the members thereof shall be such as may be defined by Irish Act, but so that the same shall never exceed those for the time being held and enjoyed by the House of Commons, and the members thereof.
-
- 1.—The Irish Legislature may repeal or alter any provision of this Act which is by this Act expressly made alterable by that Legislature, and also any enactments in force in Ireland, except such as either relate to matters beyond the powers of the Irish Legislature, as being enacted by Parliament after the passing of this Act may be expressly extended to Ireland. An Irish Act, notwithstanding it is in any respect repugnant to any enactment excepted as aforesaid, shall, though read subject to that enactment, be, except to the extent of that repugnancy, valid.

2.—An order, rule, or regulation, made in pursuance of, or having the force of, an Act of Parliament, shall be deemed to be an enactment within the meaning of this section.

3.—Nothing in this Act shall affect Bills relating to the divorce or marriage of individuals, and any such Bill shall be introduced and proceed in Parliament in like manner as if this Act had not passed.

The local authority for any county or borough or other area shall not borrow money without either:—

- (a.) special authority from the Irish Legislature, or
 - (b.) the sanction of the proper department of the Irish Government; and shall not, without such special authority, borrow;
- (i) in the case of a municipal borough or town or area less than a county, any loan which together with the then outstanding debt of the local authority will exceed twice the annual rateable value of the property in the municipal borough, town, or area; or

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- (ii) in the case of a county or larger area, any loan which together with the then outstanding debt of the local authority, will exceed one-tenth of the annual rateable value of the property in the county or area; or
- (iii) in any case a loan exceeding one-half of the above limits without a local enquiry held in the county, borough, or area by a person appointed for the purpose by the said department.

Transitory Provisions.

1.—During *three* years from the passing of this Act, and if Parliament is then sitting until the end of that session of Parliament, the Irish Legislature shall not pass an Act respecting the relations of landlord and tenant, or the sale, purchase, or letting of land generally: Provided that nothing in this section shall prevent the passing of any Irish Act with a view to the purchase of land for railways, harbours, waterworks, town improvements, and other local undertakings.

2.—During *six* years from the passing of this Act, the appointment of a judge of the Supreme Court or other superior court in Ireland (other than one of the Exchequer judges) shall be made in pursuance of a warrant from Her Majesty countersigned as heretofore.

1.—Subject to the provisions of this Act Her Majesty the Queen in Council may make or direct such arrangements as seem necessary or proper for setting in motion the Irish Legislature and Government and for otherwise bringing this Act into operation.

2.—The Irish Legislature shall be summoned to meet on the first Tuesday in September, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four, and the first election of members of the two Houses of the Irish Legislature shall be held at such time before that day, as may be fixed by Her Majesty in Council.

3.—Upon the first meeting of the Irish Legislature the members of the House of Commons then sitting for Irish constituencies, including the members for Dublin University, shall vacate their seats, and writs shall, as soon as conveniently may be, be issued by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland for the purpose of holding an election of members to serve in Parliament for the constituencies named in the Second Schedule of this Act.

4.—The existing Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the senior of the existing puisne judges of the Exchequer of the Supreme Court, or if they or either of them are or is dead or unable or unwilling to act, such other of the judges of the Supreme Court as Her Majesty may appoint, shall be the first Exchequer judges.

5.—Where it appears to Her Majesty the Queen in Council, before the expiration of *one year* after the appointed day, that any existing enactment respecting matters within the powers of the Irish Legislature requires adaptation to Ireland, whether—

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- (a.) by the substitution of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, or of any department or officer of the executive Government in Ireland, for Her Majesty in Council, a Secretary of State, the Treasury, the Postmaster-General, the Board of Inland Revenue, or other public department or officer in Great Britain; or
- (b.) by the substitution of the Irish Consolidated Fund or moneys provided by the Irish Legislature for the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or moneys provided by Parliament; or
- (c.) by the substitution of confirmation by, or other act to be done by or to, the Irish Legislature for confirmation by or other act to be done by or to Parliament; or
- (d.) by any other adaptation;

Her Majesty, by Order in Council, may make that adaptation.

6.—Her Majesty the Queen in Council may provide for the transfer of such property, rights, and liabilities, and the doing of such other things as may appear to Her Majesty necessary or proper for carrying into effect this Act or any Order in Council under this Act.

7.—An Order in Council under this section may make an adaptation or provide for a transfer either unconditionally or subject to such exceptions, conditions, and restrictions as may seem expedient.

8.—The draft of every Order in Council under this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament for not less than two months before it is made, and such Order when made shall, subject as respects Ireland to the provisions of an Irish Act, have full effect, but shall not interfere with the continued application to any place, authority, person, or thing, not in Ireland, of the enactment to which the Order relates.

Except as otherwise provided by this Act, all existing laws, institutions, authorities, and officers in Ireland, whether judicial, administrative, or ministerial, and all existing taxes in Ireland shall continue as if this Act had not passed, but with the modifications necessary for adapting the same to this Act, and subject to be repealed, abolished, altered, and adapted in the manner and to the extent authorised by this Act.

Subject as in this Act mentioned the appointed day for the purposes of this Act shall be the day of the first meeting of the Irish Legislature, or such other day not more than *seven* months earlier or later as may be fixed by Order of Her Majesty in Council either generally or with reference to any particular provision of this Act, and different days may be appointed for different purposes, and different provisions of this Act, whether contained in the same section or different sections.

In this Act unless the context otherwise requires—

The expression "existing" means existing at the passing of this Act.

THE HOME RULE PILL.

The expression "constituency" means a parliamentary constituency or a county or borough returning a member or members to serve in either House of the Irish Legislature, as the case requires, and the expression "parliamentary constituency" means any county, borough, or university returning a member or members to serve in Parliament.

The expression "parliamentary elector" means a person entitled to be registered as a voter at a parliamentary election.

The expression "parliamentary election" means the election of a member to serve in Parliament.

The expression "tax" includes duties and fees, and the expression "duties of exercise" does not include license duties.

The expression "foreign mails" means all postal packets, whether letters, parcels, or other packets, posted in the United Kingdom and sent to a place out of the United Kingdom, or posted in a place out of the United Kingdom and sent to a place in the United Kingdom, or in transit through the United Kingdom to a place out of the United Kingdom.

The expression "telegraphic line" has the same meaning as in the Telegraph Acts, 1863 to 1892.

The expression "duties on postage" includes all rates and sums chargeable for or in respect of postal packets, money orders, or telegrams, or otherwise under the Post Office Acts or the Telegraph Act, 1892.

The expression "Irish Act" means a law made by the Irish Legislature.

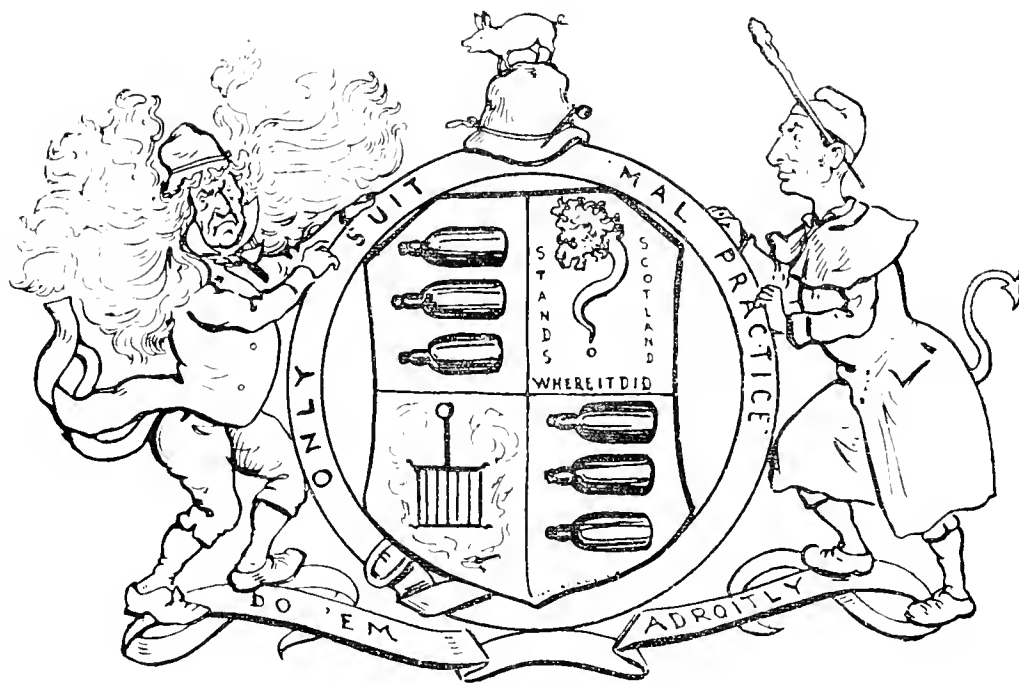
The expression "election laws" means the laws relating to the election of members to serve in Parliament, other than those relating to the qualifications of electors, and includes all the laws respecting the registration of electors, the issue and execution of writs, the creation of polling districts, the taking of the poll, the questioning of elections, corrupt and illegal practices, the disqualification of members and the vacating of seats.

The expression "rateable value" means the annual rateable value under the Irish Valuation Acts.

The expression "salary" includes remuneration, allowances, and emoluments.

The expression "pension" includes superannuation allowance.

This Act may be cited as the Irish Government Act, 1893.



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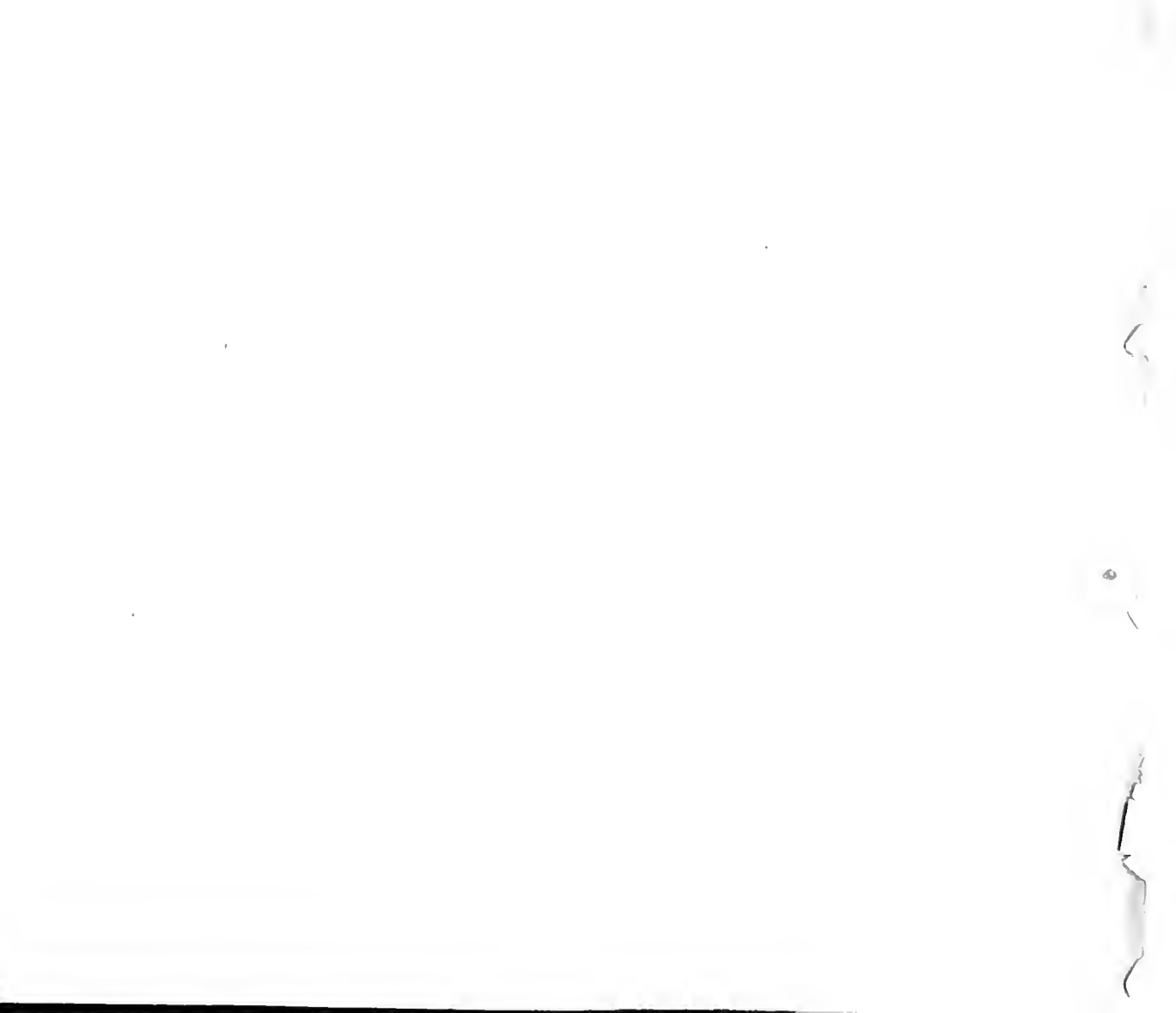
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